

NOTES
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EUROPEAN HISTORY
VOLUME III

BY WILLIAM EDWARDS, M.A.

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PREFACE

THE History of Europe from 1715 to 1815 deals with the last stages of the Old Regime, the institution of the new political and social order which resulted from the French Revolution, and the work of Napoleon who represents both the practical expression of and the reaction against the principles of the Revolution.

Under the Old Regime the State was everything, and the State meant the Monarch. No consideration for the rights either of the individual or of the nation limited the absolute power of the ruler. The principle of the partition of territory without reference to the wishes or interests of the population was recognised by the Treaty of Utrecht; the seizure of Silesia by Frederick the Great and the Partitions of Poland showed that neither treaty obligations nor sympathy for the weak would prevent powerful monarchs from robbing their neighbours. Selfish territorialism is the distinguishing feature of the history of the time, and so low was the state of political and private morality that diplomacy often became shameless chicanery.

But while the power of the monarch was absolute, it was his duty to use that power to promote the interests of his subjects. The benevolent despots of the eighteenth century endeavoured to discharge that duty. Frederick the Great declared, "I am only the first servant of the State"; Russia and Austria owed much to the efforts of Catherine II and Joseph II.

The relations of the kingdoms of Europe one to another were determined partly by tradition, partly by the conditions that resulted from territorial changes. Austria and Great Britain had united to check Louis XIV, and during the early part of the century common danger from France ensured the

continuation of their friendship. But the rise of Prussia, which threatened the supremacy Austria had so long exercised in Germany, and the need of protecting Hanover against a French attack led to the Reversal of Alliances in 1757; Prussia and Great Britain fought against Austria and France in the Seven Years' War.

The growth of the power of Russia led to the first appearance of the Eastern Question in European politics, threatened the unity of Prussia, complicated the problems of Northern Europe by establishing a new power on the Baltic and rendered more difficult the extension of Austrian influence along the Danube.

The problem of colonial expansion, which plays so great a part in the History of the Eighteenth Century, resulted in the extension of the Colonial Empires that Great Britain had acquired by the Peace of Utrecht; led Pitt to form an alliance with Frederick the Great in order to "conquer America in Europe," and necessitated the development of the navies of the belligerents. The great increase in commerce, which was largely due to colonial expansion, increased the wealth and importance of the middle class.

The principles of the Old Régime were overthrown by the French Revolution—the work of the middle class inspired by the teaching of the Philosophers. The Revolution substituted the idea of the Sovereignty of the People for that of Absolute Monarchy; it asserted that government must be effected not only "for the people," but also "by the people"; it refused to acknowledge the legality of despots, however benevolent. It led to the assertion of the principle of nationality which was the direct negative of the ideas involved in the Peace of Utrecht and the diplomacy of the century. By maintaining the cause of equality and personal liberty it liberated individuals from the bonds of social and class privilege; by building up "a new system of human relations upon a purely national basis" it greatly improved social conditions.

Napoleon's dominant personality profoundly affected France and Europe. His work in France may be regarded partly as the practical expression of the principles of the Revolution,

partly as a strong reaction against its political theories. In many ways, and particularly in the improvement and codification of its laws, France derived great benefit from the rule of Napoleon; but the Empire became a despotism as tyrannical as those of the Old Regime, and under it individual and political liberty were sacrificed to the development of Napoleon's personal power.

Napoleon's attempt to make himself master of Europe led to the strengthening of national union, particularly in Spain, Prussia and Russia. But the necessity of combining against the common foe compelled the nations of Europe to unite, and the Congress of Vienna was international rather than national. The struggle between the two ideas of Nationality and Internationality was destined profoundly to affect the history of Europe in the nineteenth century.

Each subject is treated as fully as space permits, and this has occasionally led to the repetition of material common to two or more sections. The number of details is necessarily large, but wherever possible details have been related to the historical principles they illustrate. Full accounts have been given of the leading characters of the period, and an effort has been made to show the relations between great men and great movements. In view of the great importance of these subjects, special attention has been given to the French Revolution and the career of Napoleon.

This book is designed to help students who are preparing for the Higher Local or Higher Certificate Examinations, for scholarships in Modern History or for the history papers set in connection with the various University Examinations. But the author hopes that the book will prove useful also to students of history who are not taking the subject in preparation for some examination. He will be very grateful to any readers who care to make suggestions for the correction and improvement of this book.

PREFACE TO SECOND EDITION

THE author is indebted to Mr. C. Clement Thomas, M.A., of Haver Bay College, for pointing out a few errors, which have been corrected in this Edition.

PREFACE TO THIRD EDITION

THE author is indebted to Mr. R. Maltby of Eborac, Bursley, who has pointed out a few errors, which have been corrected in the present issue.

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EUROPEAN HISTORY

FRANCE UNDER THE REGENCY OF THE DUKE OF ORLEANS

I. Orleans Seizes the Regency.

A. The two Parties.

On the death of Louis XIV two parties strove to secure the control of the Government. One led by Louis' nephew, Philip of Orleans, whom the renunciation of Philip V had made next heir to the throne, included most of the nobles who were anxious to regain the political power of which Louis had deprived them and resented the legitimization of the Duke of Maine and the Count of Toulouse, the sons of Louis and Madame de Montespan; it included most of the lawyers, many clergy, and was supported by the people, the Parliament and the Jansenists.¹ The other, of which Maine was the leader, received the support of the Jesuits, Spain and Madame de Maintenon, and favored the continuance of the absolutism Louis had established.

B. The Will of Louis XIV.

The will of Louis XIV had made Orleans Regent, but limited his authority by the appointment of a Council of Regency of fifteen members, of whom Maine was made guardian of Louis XV, who was only five years old.

C. The Parliament.

September 23d, 1715, the Parliament set aside the will and made Orleans Regent with full powers. By

¹ *Notes of European History*, Part II, page 603.

accepting the decision of the Parliament, Orleans reversed one of the leading principles of Louis XIV's policy. He recognised the political importance of the Parliament and "asserted the old Bourbon principle that the state was the property of the King."

D. Orleans.

Orleans, son of Philip, Duke of Orleans, and grandson of Louis XIII, was a man of great intelligence and coherent views; keenly interested in music, science and philosophy; an excellent speaker, he had served with success in a campaign in Spain. But he was indolent, easily led, and utterly vicious. He was under the influence of his old tutor the Abbé Dubois, the clever son of a country physician.

II. Domestic Policy

A. Liberal Reaction.

The domestic policy of Orleans was, to some extent, a liberal reaction from that of Louis XIV. The Parliament was strengthened; the central authority weakened by the establishment of Councils to manage the business of State; the army was reduced; the Jesuits were banished and the Jansenists released; an attempt was made to improve the financial condition of France. Literature became independent; Fénelon's *Télémaque*, which had been suppressed by Louis XIV owing to its criticism of the evils of the time, was published; Voltaire's *Orphée* appeared in 1718.

B. Failure.

But the new policy proved a failure. Orleans was more anxious to secure personal power for himself than to help France; he and his disciples monopolised much of the wealth that ought to have gone into the Treasury; Parliament, though ready to protest against

admitted evils, offered somewhat factional opposition to the Regent from 1718-1720; a fierce struggle took place between the Jansenists, favoured by Orleans, and the Jesuits, supported by Dubois; the collapse of Law's financial schemes ruined many; a party of the nobles steadily opposed Orleans, whose dissipation weakened his capacity for business.

III. The Government.

A. The Council of Regency.

Orleans appointed his own Council of Regency, of which the Duke of Beaufort, the grandson of the great Condé, was president, and Malin and Tencinse members.

B. The Six Councils.

Six Councils, each of ten members and consisting mainly of nobles, were established to deal with Finance, Foreign Affairs, War, the Navy, Home Affairs and the Church, the last being termed the "Council of Conscience."

But the Councils proved inefficient and were abolished in 1718.

C. The Parliament.

The Parliament was a judicial not a legislative body, but claimed the right of vetoing legislation and protesting against royal edicts. Under Louis XIV these rights had been in abeyance, but they were restored by Orleans, and the reluctance of Louis' will to the Parliament seemed to indicate that it would exercise important political power in the future, especially as the members succeeded to their posts by hereditary right and were independent of the Crown. The Parliament tended to become isolated and, while it rendered good service by protesting against misgovernment, weakened its position and political value by "petty religious and political squabbles."

IV. Religion.

A. The Huguenots.

Orléans favoured religious toleration. He wished to revoke the Edict of Nantes, but found the opposition too strong.

B. The Jansenists.¹

(1) Persecution.

Louis XIV had tried to suppress the Jansenists, whose views had been condemned by the Bull *Unigenitus* in 1713; the jealousy of Le Tellier, a Jesuit who had succeeded Pierre le Châpe as Louis' confessor, procured the condemnation of the *Moral Reflections* of the Jansenist Council; from 1713 to Louis' death the Jansenists were persecuted.

(2) Toleration.

Orléans stopped the persecution; released the imprisoned Jansenists; made Cardinal Noailles, the strong opponent of the Jesuits, chief of the Council of Conscience; banished Le Tellier.

(3) The Jansenists and the Pope.

The Jansenists wished to secure the withdrawal of the Bull *Unigenitus*; the Pope and Jesuits refused, and four Jansenist bishops in March, 1717, appealed to a General Council. The Pope entered into negotiations with Noailles.

1720. Terms of agreement between Noailles, who accepted one rendering of the Bull, and the Pope received the assent of Parliament, but failed to secure the approval of many Jansenists. Seven Jansenist bishops again appealed to a General Council against the Pope.

The Government, influenced by Dubois, supported the Pope and the persecution of the Jansenists was renewed.

¹ Notes on European History, Part II, page 608.

Finance.

Louis XIV's extravagance and the cost of his wars had ruined France. In 1715 the national debt, much of which bore heavy interest, amounted to two thousand million livres, the revenue was 180,000,000, the expenditure 242,000,000; Government paper was worth only one-third of its nominal value.

A. LaChambre Ardente.

The Council of Finance, presided over by the Duke of Noailles, rejected a proposal of St. Simon to declare a national bankruptcy, but in 1718 established a court, *La Chambre Ardente*, to try financiers. Informers were encouraged, much wealth was confiscated, many financiers were imprisoned and one was hanged. But the State benefited little, for much of the confiscated wealth went to Orleans and his friends, and wealthy financiers secured their protection by heavy bribes.

B. John Law, 1698-1769.

Law, the son of an Edinburgh jeweller, had been sentenced to death for killing a man in a duel. He came to France, and his undoubted financial ability won the favour of the Regent.

Law held that credit creates wealth and that a large issue of paper money would stimulate commerce. He failed to realise that under the corrupt government of Orleans it would be difficult to establish the public confidence on which credit is founded. He failed to estimate the economic importance of manufactures and agriculture which produce wealth, and attached undue importance to commerce, or the distribution of wealth. He wished to give the Government the control of finance and commerce, so that profits might be used to reduce taxation and the national debt.

(1) The Banque Générale, 1718.

With the permission of the Regent, Law established in May, 1718, a private bank, the Banque Générale, which was allowed by the Government to issue paper currency redeemable by gold of a fixed standard.

The bank had a capital of six million livres and issued notes and bills to the value of sixty million.

(2) The Royal Bank, 1718.

Law's bank proved so successful that in December, 1718, it was taken over by the Government and Law was appointed Director-General of the Royal Bank which controlled the finances of the country. Law now proposed that the Royal Bank should make a large issue of paper money on the security of the resources of the State, and that the Government should use the proceeds to repurchase offices which had been sold and so secure control of the magistracy. To assist the scheme no payment of more than six hundred francs was to be made in silver.

(3) The Mississippi Company, 1717.

The Mississippi Company had a capital of two million francs in shares of the nominal value of five hundred francs. It secured the monopoly of trade with Louisiana.² In 1718 it obtained control of the tobacco trade, the Mint and the Senegal Company, and, in 1719, of the French East India Company; it had practically secured the control of French commerce. The Government granted the Company a charter for fifty years and the right of farming indirect taxes in return for a loan of fifteen hundred million francs at three per cent to pay off the national debt. Government creditors were paid in shares of the Company.

There was a boom in the shares, which rose to fifteen thousand francs and touched twenty thousand.

² So named after Louis XIV. Its capital, New Orleans, was named after the Regent.

1786. The Company collapsed; many people were ruined, although some original shareholders who had sold their shares made enormous profits. About the same time the Royal Bank had to cease payment owing to its reckless issue of paper money.

The failure of Law's schemes delayed the establishment of a State Bank and impaired the development of French commerce. "The finances of France remained their accustomed, more lethargic pace on the road to ruin."

(4) General.

Law's fundamental error lay in his failure to see that currency is not wealth but only a medium for the exchange of wealth. All his contemporaries shared this error, which was not seriously challenged until the publication, in 1776, of Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*. Law sincerely believed in the soundness of his schemes and aimed at promoting the financial interests of France.

His schemes aimed at giving the Government control of finance and commerce and were socialistic. They were opposed by the Parliament on the ground that they would strengthen absolute monarchy, and for this reason Montesquieu declared that Law was the greatest of all supporters of despotism.

VI. Reversal of Orleans' Policy.

By 1788 Orleans had returned to the absolute government of Louis XIV. In 1788 he had intervened in the religious disputes, and in 1789 he acquiesced in the persecution of the Jansenists. In 1718 he suppressed the new Councils. In 1718 he held a *lit de justice*,¹ which limited the power of the Parliament owing to its opposition to Law; and in 1786 he called the Parliament to Bourges.

[For references, see end of next note.]

¹ An assembly presided over by the King and attended by the Dukes and Peers of France and by leading officials as well as the Parliament.

THE TRIPLE ALLIANCE

I. General Conditions.

It was hoped that the Peace of Utrecht¹ would establish peace in Europe, but Philip V of Spain and the Emperor Charles VI presented the terms of the Treaty and difficult problems had arisen in Northern Europe. In 1713 another great European war seemed imminent.

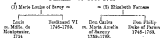
A. Spain.

(1) Philip V.

Philip V was, after Louis XV, the head of the Bourbons; although he had renounced his claim to the French throne in July, 1712,² he hoped to secure the regency of France instead of Orleans, and ultimately to obtain the throne of France either for himself or one of his sons. He was bitterly hostile to Orleans.

(2) Elizabeth Farnese.

PHILIP V. 1700-1746



Philip V's first wife, Marie Louise of Savoy, who was under the influence of the masterful Princess Orléans, died in February, 1714. On September 16th, 1714, Philip married Elizabeth Farnese, niece of the Duke of Parma and Piacenza, who owing to her descent from the Medici had claims on the Duchy of Tuscany. She dismissed Princess Orléans, who had steadily supported French interests at Madrid, and owing to her own strength of character and the sup-

¹ *Notes on European History*, Part II, page 282.

girl of Alberoni exercised a strong influence on Spanish policy. She determined to secure for her sons, Don Carlos and Don Philip, the succession to Parma and Tuscany.

(3) Alberoni, 1694-1758.

Alberoni, the son of a gardener of Parma, had come to Spain in the train of Vaudémont, won the favour of the Princess Ursula and of Philip V, became Philip's chief minister and by successful administration greatly improved the condition of Spain.¹ He secured the marriage of Philip and Elisabeth Farnese, who strongly supported his schemes for resisting the attempt of the Emperor Charles VI to restore Austrian supremacy in Italy and for reconquering Italy for Spain. Alberoni favoured Philip's designs on the French throne, and hoped by securing Italy and establishing close relations with France to make Spain the dominant power in Europe.

(4) Spain and England.

Alberoni desired to secure the help of the British navy and persuaded Philip on December 14th, 1735, to win the friendship of Great Britain, to whom he made valuable commercial concessions by the *Asiento* Treaty.²

B. The Empire.

Charles VI was still at war with Spain; refused to recognise Philip V as King of Spain and referred to him as Duke of Anjou; welcomed at Vienna Spanish allies who refused to acknowledge Philip V; he was not satisfied with the extensive territory he had received by the Peace of Utrecht—the Milanese, the Tuscany States, Majorca, Naples and Sardinia—and wished to make Austria mistress of Italy. He rejected the recognition of the Duke of Savoy as ultimate heir to Spain and hoped

Page 114. ¹ *Notes on British History*, Part II, page 504.

to induce him to exchange for Sardinia the Kingdom of Sicily, which he had obtained by the Peace of Utrecht.

The Emperor was anxious to secure the help of Great Britain in his Italian policy.

C. Great Britain.

(1) The Hanoverian Succession.

The Whigs, who came into office in 1714, were pledged to support the Hanoverian Succession which had been guaranteed by the Peace of Utrecht. But it was opposed by a strong party in the Imperial Court at Vienna: Louis XIV. allowed the Old Pretender to flee to Lorraine and to embark at Dunkirk for his expedition against England in 1715; Charles XII. of Sweden, angry at the loss of Breiten and Varden, was suspected of helping the Pretender.

(2) Bremen and Verden.

June, 1715. George I., as Elector of Hanover, bought the Duchies of Bremen and Verden from Frederick IV. of Denmark, who had taken them from Sweden in 1712. Charles XII. strongly resented the action of the Elector, whom he had long regarded as his "best friend," and damage done to British shipping in the Baltic aroused strong feeling in England.

(3) Possibility of war with Sweden, 1718.

March, 1718. The fear that help would be sent from Sweden to the Pretender led to proposals for an alliance between Great Britain and Russia which would have involved the intervention of Great Britain against her old ally Sweden, in conjunction with the Northern League—Russia, Saxony, Denmark, Poland, Prussia and Hanover. The final suppression of The Pretender in October, 1718, ensured the Hanoverian Succession in England and rendered Russian assistance unnecessary. The negotiations with Russia were broken off.

(6) *The Treaty of Westminster, 1713.*

George was anxious to remain on good terms with the Emperor Charles VI because the sanction of the Emperor was necessary for the transference of two Imperial fiefs, and George was anxious to secure his help, if necessary, against Peter the Great.

May 25th, 1713. The Treaty of Westminster pledged the Emperor and King George I to maintain each other's possessions.

II. *The Position of France.*

The leading part she had played in the War of the Spanish Succession had made Great Britain very unpopular in France, and much sympathy was shown for the Old Pretender at the French Court. But the death of Louis XIV led to the Regency of Orleans; the consequent hostility of Philip V, supported by the legitimised princes,¹ endangered the position of the Regent. It seriously weakened the alliance between France and Spain and led the Regent to seek to strengthen his position by foreign alliances, especially as it was not expected that the young Louis XV would live long and his death would lead to a serious attempt on the part of Philip V to exclude Orleans from the succession and secure the crown for himself or one of his sons.

III. *The Triple Alliance, January, 1717.*A. *The policy of Dubois.*

Dubois, who had visited England and was on friendly terms with Stanhope, resolved to break with the traditions of Louis XIV, to form an alliance with Great Britain and thus support Orleans and George I against their rivals, and give to each country the peace necessary to recover from the recent war and to extend its trade.

¹ Maine and Toulouse had been declared legitimate by Louis XV in July 1714.

Great Britain and Holland were slave allies. As the result of personal interviews between Dubois, George I and Stanhope the Triple Alliance was formed on January 8th, 1717, at the Hague between Great Britain, now suspicious of Russia owing to Peter the Great's invasion of Mecklenburg in October, 1716, France and Holland.

B. Terms.

- (1) France undertook to demolish the fortifications of Mardyke, to abandon the Pretender, who was compelled to leave Aigouon, where he had been living.
- (2) All parties agreed to confirm the Peace of Utrecht, and thus the Hanoverian Succession and the Whig Government in England, Orleans' Regency in France and the defence of Hanover were assured.
- (3) George I retained the title of King of France; Louis XV was referred to as The Most Christian King.

C. Criticism.

The treaty made a revolution in European politics, and the alliance between Great Britain and France continued until 1743; it weakened the Jacobites; irritated the Emperor, who had never agreed to the Peace of Utrecht, some clauses of which he wished to annul; stopped the schemes of Alberoni and Elizabeth Farnese in Italy; prevented an alliance between France and Russia which might have proved dangerous to Hanover, Bremen and Verden; left George I free to assist Hanover by putting pressure on France to resist Peter the Great. Great Britain, now the ally of France, Holland, the Emperor and Spain, became the arbiter of Europe, and George I, as Elector of Hanover, gained great influence in the North of Europe. The French resented the Treaty because they considered that it made France the slave of Britain; but it saved France, which was exhausted and isolated from a renewal of the Great Alliance. The

entire Whigs maintained that it promoted the interests of Hanover rather than Britain. "I do not see," said Horace Walpole, "why the whole system of Europe should be turned upside down on account of Westphalia." In spite of adverse criticism the Treaty proved successful; it promoted the best interests of Britain and France and helped to preserve the peace of Europe.

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Cambridge Modern History, Vol. VI, chap. IV.

FROM THE TRIPLE ALLIANCE TO THE DEATH OF DUBOIS, 1717-1728.

The parties to the Triple Alliance were anxious to keep peace in Europe. War was raging in the North, and the opposition between Charles VI and Philip V was seen to lead to war in the South. "The bond of union between the questions relating to the Baltic and the Mediterranean was the identification of the interests of the Hapsburg and of England."¹

I. The North of Europe, 1717-1718.

Northern Europe was distracted by the war between Sweden, long the subsidized ally of France, and Russia, Prussia and Hanover. Both Sweden and Russia were anxious to secure help from Western Europe.

A. The arrest of Götz and Gyllenborg.

January, 1717. Arrest in London of the Swedish ambassador Gyllenborg, and in Holland of Götz, the
 Dr. Hill.

representative of Charles XII. Their papers showed that they had plotted to send 12,000 Swedish soldiers to assist the Pretender in Scotland in return for a payment of £60,000 by the Jacobites to Görtz, who had failed to secure in Holland the financial help Sweden urgently needed. Apparently Charles XII was not a party to the conspiracy, which aroused great indignation in England and added further justification to the Triple Alliance.

B. Peter the Great.

(1) Peter and France.

Peter, whose relations with George I continued unfriendly owing to the continuance of the Russian occupation of Mecklenburg, greatly feared that in spite of their differences Sweden would make an alliance with Great Britain. He tried to win over Orleans, who before the Triple Alliance had seemed disposed to establish a good understanding with Russia; had recently shown his hostility to Sweden by concluding in September, 1716, a treaty sanctioning the acquisition by Prussia of Stettin and other Swedish territory; and had, more recently, refused Görtz's request that he should act as intermediary between Sweden and Prussia.

Orleans' position was difficult. He was bound by the Triple Alliance to Britain, which was unfriendly towards Russia; he wished to conciliate Peter and to prevent the possible union of Russia and Austria.

April, 1717. Visit of Peter the Great to Paris.

(2) The Treaty of Amsterdam.

August, 1717. The Treaty of Amsterdam.

The Treaty of Amsterdam was made between France, Russia and Prussia on August 15th, 1717, and provided that Orleans' Regency and right of succession to the French throne should be maintained; that the Treaties of Utrecht and Baden should be confirmed; that France should act as mediator in the

war between Sweden and her enemies. A French ambassador was soon sent to Russia.

The treaty was merely nominal. Prussia was Russia's only ally: Peter soon evacuated Meissenburg, "and the failure of Peter the Great to obtain from France the support he desired may be considered the first decisive step towards the pacification of the North."¹ Dubois showed wisdom in preferring to maintain the Triple Alliance rather than to conclude a close alliance with Russia which, although it had profited by the collapse of Sweden and gained strength owing to the policy of Peter the Great, was not yet firmly established as one of the Great Powers.

C. The Aland Conference, 1718.

March, 1718. Albornoz now endeavoured to reconcile Russia and Sweden and to form a union of the North against France, and thus to prevent France from co-operating with Great Britain against Spain.

Peter now changed his policy and negotiated with Sweden. At the Aland Conference in May, 1718, Görtz proposed that Sweden and Russia should make a close alliance, the former ceding to Russia Ingerin, Carelia, Livonia and Esthonia, while Russia guaranteed the Swedish possessions in Germany.

This plan failed owing to the refusal of Charles XII to sanction it. Charles was killed at Friedrichshall on December 11th, 1718, and the execution of Görtz soon followed.

II. The Quadruple Alliance, 1718.

A. Charles VI and Philip V.

The difficulties of Dubois and Stanhope were increased by the persistent hostility between the Emperor Charles VI and Philip V of Spain. George I wished to remain on friendly terms with Charles VI in order to

¹ G. H. M.

secured Imperial confirmation for the cession of Bremen and Verden; Great Britain wished to keep Gibraltar and Port Mahon, which she had taken from Spain in the War of the Spanish Succession, and which greatly increased her power in the Mediterranean. The mediation between the Northern Powers was undertaken mainly by France; Stanhope undertook to reconcile Charles and Philip.

(1) The demands of Charles VI.

Charles undertook to recognise Philip V as King of Spain on condition that Sicily, Parma and Tuscany were given to him, and Montserrat and part of the Milanese to the Duke of Savoy to compensate him for the loss of the kingdom of Sicily, which had been granted to him by the Peace of Utrecht.

(2) Stanhope's offer.

September, 1718. Stanhope, with the approval of Dubois, proposed—

- a. That the Emperor should accept the Treaty of Utrecht, recognise Orléans as King of France if Louis XV died childless, acknowledge Philip V as King of Spain.
- b. That the Emperor should receive Sicily in exchange for Sardinia, which was to be given to the Duke of Savoy.
- c. That, on the death of the living dukes, Parma and Piacenza should be given to Don Carlos, the son of Elizabeth Farnese.

Philip V refused to accept these terms.

(3) The seizure of Sardinia.

The arrest at Milan of the Grand Inquisitor of Spain on his homeward journey from Rome infuriated Philip.

August, 1717. The Spaniards seized Sardinia.

3. Alberoni's diplomacy.

The Treaty of Westminster bound Great Britain to support the Emperor, and she expected the other members of the Triple Alliance to join her.

Alberoni, now a cardinal, did all he could to hamper Great Britain and prevent France from going to war with Spain.

(1) Northern Europe.

He tried to reconcile Sweden and Russia and to induce them to destroy the Triple Alliance.

(2) France.

Orléans was hampered by financial difficulties and the Pope resented the Regent's policy towards the Jesuits and Jansenists. Alberoni tried to secure Orléans' support by offering to recognise his right to the French Crown and to cede Flanders to France if Orléans would fight against Charles VI.

Orléans refused Alberoni's offers and the latter, acting through Orléans's, the Spanish ambassador in Paris, formed a plot, in which Huxelles took a leading part, to make Maine the Regent instead of Orléans, to proclaim Philip V as next heir to the Crown and to induce France to break away from Great Britain. The plot failed; Orléans was expelled from France and Maine imprisoned. Alberoni's attempts to stir up things among the Protestants of Languedoc and the Bretons met with little success.

(3) Great Britain.

Alberoni promised to help the Pretender to get the throne.

(4) The Empire.

Alberoni tried, unsuccessfully, to weaken the Emperor by urging the Turks and Ragoczy, Prince of Transylvania, to attack Austria; he offered Spanish

troops to help the Duke of Savoy to take Milan and tried to induce the Duke of Parma to rise against the Emperor. But individual states were too weak for the task, and Alberoni failed to unite Italy against Austria.

C. The Quadruple Alliance, August, 1718.

Orleans remained faithful to the Triple Alliance and joined Great Britain and the Emperor against Spain.

August 2nd, 1718. Owing mainly to Dubois' diplomacy, Great Britain, France and the Empire made an alliance, which Holland joined in December, and agreed

- (1) That Charles VI should renounce the throne of Spain and recognize Philip V.
- (2) Charles should get back Sardinia, which he should exchange for Sicily with Victor Amadeus, who was to be King of Sardinia.
- (3) The recession to Turin, Parma and Piacenza to be guaranteed to Don Carlos or some other son of Elizabeth Farnese.

III. The Fall of Alberoni.

A. War.

- (1) The Spaniards conquer Sicily.

Victor Amadeus had come to terms with the Emperor and refused to admit the Spaniards into Sicily.

July, 1718. The Spaniards conquer Sicily.

The Austrians, relieved of danger from the Turks by Eugene's victory at Belgrade on August 18th, 1717, and by the Treaty of Passarowitz which closed the Turkish War in June, 1718, poured troops into Italy.

- (2) Cape Passaro.

August 18th, 1718. The British fleet under Byng utterly routed the Spanish off Cape Passaro, although war had not been formally declared.

- (3) France and Britain declare War.

December, 1712. Great Britain, relieved of danger from Sweden in the North by the death of Charles XII, declared war on Spain.

January, 1712. France declared war on again. The Duke of Berwick,¹ who had fought for Philip V in the War of the Spanish Succession, led a French army into Spain and took Fontarabie and St. Sebastian.

The French fleet destroyed Spanish dockyards and broke the Spanish naval power in the Bay of Biscay.

- (4) The Spaniards invade Scotland.

May, 1712. Complete failure of a Spanish descent in Rosshire on behalf of the Pretender.

- (5) The Allies recapture Sicily.

The failure of Alberoni's attempt to stir up opposition to Britain and France in the North² enabled Byng to keep command of the Mediterranean; he transported Austrian troops into Sicily and helped them to capture Messina and to reconquer the island.

B. Peace.

The Allies refused to make peace until Alberoni was displaced.

- (1) December 25th, 1712. Alberoni was ordered to leave Spain and retired to a convent near Bologna.

Philip V still hoped to regain Gibraltar and Minorca and to keep Sardinia; but Orleans remained faithful to the Quadruple Alliance, and Elizabeth Farnese feared that her sons might be excluded from Italy if Spain continued to oppose the Allies.

- (2) February, 1713. Philip V joined the Quadruple Alliance.

Philip V renounced his claim to the Crown of France; restored Sicily and Sardinia (which was given to Victor

¹ Son of James II of England and Annebole Churchill. * Page 126.

Amadeus in return for Sicily); the succession to Tuscany, Parma and Placenza was assigned to the sons of Elizabeth Farnese.

(3) Spain was now no longer dangerous to France, and in March, 1721, a definitive alliance arranged between Great Britain, France and Spain provided—

- a. That Louis XV should be betrothed to the Infanta of Spain.
3. That Mademoiselle de Montpensier, daughter of Orleans, should marry the Prince of the Asturias.
- c. That unsettled differences between Spain and the Emperor should be referred to a Congress at Cambray.

The work of the Quadruple Alliance was done and it was dissolved. France became more friendly with Spain, which longed to regain Gibraltar; France and Britain, having lost the bond of common interest, tended to draw apart; all three viewed with apprehension the power of Austria, which had been strengthened by her acquisitions in Italy.

IV. The Settlement of the North.

A. Sweden divides her enemies.

Sweden now attempted successfully to divide her enemies, of whom Peter the Great was the most dangerous. In April, 1719, he was ravaging the Swedish islands and plundering and burning almost in sight of Stockholm. France and Great Britain acted as mediators.

(1) Hanover and Sweden.

November, 1719. Owing to Cartaret's skilful diplomacy, Sweden ceded Bremen and Verden to Hanover for a million crowns, and Great Britain promised to mediate between Sweden, Denmark and Poland.

(2) *Prussia and Sweden.*

January 21st, 1720. Sweden ceded to Prussia Stettin, Western Pomerania, Ueckermund and Wolffe, and Frederick William I broke off his alliance with Peter the Great.

(3) *Sweden and Great Britain.*

January 21st, 1720. A defensive alliance was formed between Sweden and Great Britain. Sweden promised to give no help to the Pretender and to guarantee the Protestant succession.

(4) *Sweden and Poland.*

January, 1720. Frederick Augustus I of Poland made peace with Sweden.

(5) *Sweden and Denmark.*

July 3rd, 1720. Sweden and Denmark made peace by the Treaty of Fredericksborg, the latter receiving Schleswig, which the Duke of Holstein-Gottorp was forced to surrender.

B. *The Peace of Nystadt, 1721.*

Peter the Great, whose demand for the cession of all his Swedish conquests was strongly resented by Great Britain, was now isolated; a British fleet was sent to co-operate with the Swedes against Russia in the Baltic, but did little, and Stanhope soon saw that Sweden could not resist Peter's demands. The death of Stanhope on February 8th, 1721, the Mississippi Scheme and the South Sea Bubble had gravely weakened France and England. Effective opposition to Peter seemed impossible, and, with the good will of Great Britain and France and the mediation of the latter, peace was made between Sweden and Russia.

August 10th, 1721. The Northern War was closed by the Peace of Nystadt, by which Peter restored Finland and paid two million dollars to Sweden, which ceded

to Russia, Livonia, Esthonia, Ingria and part of Georgia.

Peter had wrested from Sweden the mastery of the Baltic and made Russia one of the leading powers of Northern Europe. France and Great Britain were free from the difficulties that had arisen in the North owing to the fact that George I was Elector of Hanover, of which Albertoni had made skilful use in 1718.

V. The Death of Dubois, 1723.

Dubois, anxious to secure ecclesiastical preferment, had taken the side of the Pope and the Jesuits against the Jansenists. He was made Archbishop of Cambrai; in 1721, after strong pressure from the Emperor, Orleans, Philip V and George I, and after the expenditure of eight million livres in bribes, Innocent XIII, with great reluctance owing to his immoral character, made him a cardinal. In August, 1722, he became first minister.

August 10th, 1723. Dubois died owing to a slight accident which proved fatal to a constitution ruined by excess.

His domestic policy was a failure. His foreign policy was based on the maintenance of the Peace of Utrecht and alliance with Britain. Although conceived largely in the interests of Orleans, it was a statesmanlike and successful attempt to give France the peace she needed and to make peace in Europe.

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THE TREATIES OF VIENNA AND HANOVER

I. Some Important Political Problems.

A. Charles VI.

(1) The Ostend East India Company, 1702.

Charles⁶ was anxious to promote the commerce of Austria, which profited by the growing importance of Trieste, the possession of much of the Italian coast-line and the decline of Venice.

The Spanish Netherlands had lost the advantage of the lucrative trade with the Spanish Indies when they had been transferred to Charles VI by the Peace of Utrecht. The closing of the Scheldt limited the trade of Antwerp. Charles encouraged the merchants of Ostend to open up trade with India, and in 1702 founded the Ostend East India Company with a capital of six million guilders, hoping that the profits of the Company, six per cent of which was payable to the Imperial Treasury, would relieve his financial difficulties. He hoped to make Ostend a strong naval station and by establishing a fleet to weaken the naval supremacy of the maritime nations. The addition of a formidable commercial rival was strongly resented by Holland and Great Britain.

(2) The Pragmatic Sanction.

The death in 1740 of Charles VI's only son in infancy left Maria Theresa, his eldest daughter, who was born in 1717, heiress to the Austrian dominions. To ensure her succession in preference to the daughters of his deceased elder brother Joseph I, Charles released the Pragmatic Sanction which he had first published in 1713. It had been readily accepted by Austria in 1704, but was regarded with apprehension by Prussia, Saxony⁷ and Savoy, which feared that it

might strengthen Hapsburg domination in Germany. Charles' strenuous attempts to secure the confirmation of the Pragmatic Sanction by the Powers of Europe affected European politics for many years.

B. Elizabeth Farnese.

Spain was anxious to recover Gibraltar and to check British trade in the West Indies, whose friction arose owing to the methods used by the Spaniards to put down the extensive system of smuggling from which the British derived great profits.

Elizabeth Farnese used her powerful influence, with the assistance of Ripperda, to ensure the accession of her sons to the Italian duchies and subordinated to this end the best interests of Spain, which required peace for the further development of her resources.

C. Philip V.

In spite of all his reversals Philip V still hoped to secure the French Crown, and his renunciation of the throne of Spain on January 4th, 1724, may have been partly due, not only to ill health, but also to a desire to assert his claims if Louis XV, whose health was bad, died.

II. The Congress of Cambrey, 1724.

A. Bourbon.

On the death of Orleans, December 2nd, 1723, the Duke of Bourbon became chief minister of France. "Monseigneur le Duc," the unworthy grandson of the Great Condé, was ruled by his mistress, Madame de Prié, a pensioner of Walpole. He continued Dubois' policy of friendship with Great Britain and refused to make an alliance with Peter the Great, who continued hostile to George I.

B. The Congress.

The Congress of Cambrey met, as arranged, in 1724, to settle difficulties between Philip V and Charles VI

But conditions had changed; the maritime powers were irritated by the establishment of the Ostend East India Company; the French were less inclined to support the designs of Elizabeth Farnese on the Italian duchies. Bourbon was concerned to prevent the new Duke of Orleans from ascending to the French throne if Louis XV died. The abdication of Philip V (January, 16th-August 31st, 1724) complicated Spanish politics. "This issue, congress"¹ did nothing, and aroused the resentment of Spain and Austria by its failure.

III. The Treaty of Vienna, 1725.

The failure of the Congress of Cambrey irritated Elizabeth Farnese, who was anxious to secure the Italian duchies for her sons; Philip V was angry because the marriage contract between the Infanta and Louis XV had been repudiated, and because France seemed to care more for Polish than Spanish interests. In June, 1720, George I had promised to restore Gibraltar to Spain, but the promise had not been kept. Charles VI was offended because Great Britain refused to guarantee the Pragmatic Sanction and steadily opposed the Ostend East India Company. Charles was anxious to strengthen his hold on Italy and to make use of Italy to secure the supremacy of the Empire in Germany.

Spain and the Empire now entered into direct negotiations which were conducted with great skill by Bipporda. Charles hoped by the help of Spain to carry out his Imperial schemes; to escape from his dependence on Great Britain; to establish his influence in Poland; to restore the Stuarts; to support Catholicism in Europe.

A. Bipporda's Mission to Vienna.

(1) Bipporda's proposals.

Bipporda's main object was to secure the marriage of Maria Theresa to Don Carlos and of her sister to

¹ Cadix.

Don Philip. On the death of Charles VI, Don Carlos was to succeed to the Hapsburg family lands, Don Philip to the Hapsburg territories in Italy (the Milanese, Naples and Sicily), with the addition of Tuscany, Parma and Piacenza. "Thus all the Austrian possessions in Germany and Italy were to be ultimately divided between Elizabeth Farnese's two sons." Spain was to support the Pragmatic Sanction and the Ostend East India Company. The Emperor was to help Spain to recover Gibraltar and Minorca. Both Catholic powers were to unite against the Turks, German Protestants and Great Britain.

(3) *Objections to Hippersley's proposals.*

The Emperor's chief ministers—Beylen, Starckenberg and Zimmerdorf—realising that Austria was in a position of dangerous isolation, and strongly resenting the opposition of British and Dutch-merchants to the Ostend East India Company, favoured an understanding with Spain, but objected to the proposed marriage.

.B. *The Spanish Infanta.*

Philip V's daughter the Infanta, who had been betrothed to Louis XV in 1721, was being educated in France. She was only six years old and the marriage could not take place for some time. Bourbon was anxious for Louis XV to marry, as if he died without an heir the throne would pass to the young Duke of Orleans, to whom Bourbon was bitterly opposed. He sent the Infanta back to Spain in March, 1726. Philip V was furious at the insult; he sent back to France the wife¹ of his son, King Louis I, who had ruled during his own absence, and Mademoiselle de Beauvais, who was betrothed to Don Carlos.

C. *The marriage of Louis XV.*

September, 1725. Louis married Marie Leszcynski,

¹ Formerly Mademoiselle de Montpensier, page 22.

daughter of Stanislaus, who, with the help of Charles XII, had been King of Poland from 1704 till he was expelled in 1712 and was living in retirement at Weissenburg. Bourbon hoped that the new Queen would support him, as he had arranged the marriage.

The marriage was a mistake. It alienated Catherine I of Russia, who, alarmed at the isolation of Russia, desired an alliance with France and was anxious that her daughter Elizabeth should marry Louis XV. Poland was of no value to France, which was soon involved in the costly and unsuccessful War of the Polish Succession, undertaken to restore Stanislaus to the throne. Russia now turned to Austria, and soon an alliance between the two was to prove an important factor in Europe.

D. The Treaty of Vienna, April 30th-May 1st, 1735.

Philip now withdrew his ambassador from France and his representatives from the Congress of Cambrey, which came to an end.

By the Treaty of Vienna, Charles recognised a claim on Philip's side in Sicily, promised the succession to the Italian dukies to Don Carlos and undertook to help Spain to recover Gibraltar. Philip undertook to support the Ostend Company, to protect Austrian commerce and to provide a large sum of money; but the Italian dukies remained Imperial fiefs, the Farnese marriage was not mentioned. Philip, in his indignation against France, had surrendered to Spain.

E. The Treaty of Hanover, September, 1735.

The union of the Hapsburgs and Spanish Bourbons aroused fear that they might combine against France; the commercial advantages it secured to Charles alarmed the British and Dutch. Philip V demanded the cession of Gibraltar and prepared for war. By the Treaty of Hanover, September 3rd, 1735, Great Britain, France and Prussia made a defensive league, which was joined later by Sweden, Denmark and Holland, and agreed to

demand the abolition of the Ostend East India Company and to recognise Prussian claims on Jülich and Berg.

F. The Secret Treaty of Vienna, November, 1725.

Charles VI, alarmed by the Treaty of Hanover, now made a secret Treaty with Philip V, by which he agreed that Don Carlos and Don Philip should marry "two of his daughters," that he would help Spain to regain Gibraltar and Minorca. Philip promised to support Hapsburg rights in Poland, Jülich and Berg, to assist the Ostend Company and guarantee the Pragmatic Sanction. If war ensued and France was defeated, Spain was to receive Cordogne, Roussillon and Lower Navarre; Austria was to get Alsace, Franche-Comté, Lorraine and the Netherlands. The Secret Treaty was a great triumph for Elizabeth Farnese and Ripperda. The Pretender was to be made King of England.

The position of Charles was strengthened by—

- (1) A treaty between Russia and Austria in August, 1725, by which they agreed to defend each other from attack from the West and to unite in attacking the Turks.

The beginning of the close alliance between Austria and Russia.

- (2) The Treaty of Wusterhausen, October, 1725.

France joined Austria and guaranteed the Pragmatic Sanction provided Maria Theresa married a German prince. Charles promised to consider the Prussian claims on Jülich and Berg.

IV. The Treaty of Seville, 1729.

A. The Fall of Ripperda.

Ripperda on his return to Spain was made a duke and took the title of Universal Minister. But he found that Spain had neither the army, navy nor the money necessary for the way his policy had made inevitable. He tried, unsuccessfully, to retrieve his position by secret

negotiations with France and the Dutch. Charles VI showed no readiness to carry out the marriage arranged, sent no troops, but imperatively demanded a subsidy of a million dollars. Sippersin's attempt to raise money by heavy taxes and by debasing the coinage had made him unpopular; the Queen, his strongest supporter, realising that his work at Vienna had really been ineffective, turned against him. He was deprived of office in May, 1783, took refuge in the British Embassy and revealed to the British ambassador the terms of the Secret Treaty of Vienna. He was imprisoned, escaped, went to Morocco, became a Mohammedan and died in 1787.

B. War between Great Britain and Spain.

June, 1783. A British fleet cruised off the coast of Spain to intercept treasure ships from the West Indies.

March–August, 1783. Housier blockaded Porto Belle and prevented the treasure ships, with \$5,500,000 on board, from leaving port.

1783. Spain blockaded Gibraltar.

C. Preliminaries of Peace.

(1) Fleury, Chief Minister.

June, 1783. Fleury succeeded Bourdon as Chief Minister and was most anxious for peace. He was prevented by Chauvelin, who opposed Britain and Austria, from sending military help to the British against Spain; he negotiated with Elizabeth Parsona, but remained faithful to the British alliance.

(2) Death of Catherine I.

May, 1783. The death of Catherine I and the accession of the youthful Peter II deprived Charles VI of the help of Russia.

(3) Austria makes peace with Britain.

May 31st, 1783. Charles VI, who had sent no help to Spain against Britain, largely owing to the influence

of England, signed the Preliminaries of Peace with Britain. France and Holland, agreed to suspend the *Octroi Company* for seven years and to refer all difficulties to a congress.

(4) Death of George I.

July 10th, 1727. Death of George I. Walpole remained in power and was determined to make peace.

(5) The Convention of the Pardo.

March, 1728. The Convention of the Pardo ended the Anglo-Spanish War.

(6) The Congress of Soissons.

1728-1729. The Congress of Soissons failed to secure peace.

(7) Birth of the Dauphin.

September, 1729. The birth of the Dauphin secured the succession of the French Bourbons and put an end to the dynastic jealousy between France and Spain.

D. The Treaty of Seville, 1729.

Elizabeth Farnese finding that the Emperor had no intention of supporting the Farnese marriage, and rendered still more anxious to secure for Don Carlos the Italian duchies since the birth of the Dauphin had rendered his succession to the throne of France impossible, now negotiated with France and Britain. The difficulties in the schools were not sufficiently serious to render peace with Britain impossible, and Flotry and Walpole, who had had to face strong opposition from the war parties in France and England, made the most of the opportunity.

The Treaty of ~~Seville~~ signed between France, Britain and Spain on November 26th, 1729, and accepted soon afterwards by Holland, provided—

(1) That the commercial privileges in Spanish dominions

which had been withdrawn by the recent treaties of Vienna should be restored.

- (2) That the privileges accorded by Spain to the Ostend Company should be withdrawn.
- (3) That Don Carlos should succeed to Parma and Plasencia and that Spain should send six thousand soldiers to occupy them when necessary.

Charles VI was isolated; the Austro-Spanish agreement came to an end; Fleury had secured the alliance of Spain as well as Britain and established more cordial relations between France and Spain.

The Second Treaty of Vienna, 1731.

Peace was maintained owing to the determined efforts of Fleury, Walpole and Putnam. But the Duke of Parma died in January, 1731, the Emperor seized the Duchies and war seemed again imminent.

Walpole saved the situation by guaranteeing the Pragmatic Sanction, which Fleury refused to do. The Second Treaty of Vienna was made in July, 1731, between Great Britain, Spain, Holland and the Emperor.

A. Terms.

- (1) Britain and Holland, although not Spain, guaranteed the Pragmatic Sanction.
- (2) The Emperor formally invested George II with Bremen and Verden, suspended the Ostend East India Company, allowed Spanish troops to occupy the Italian duchies. Don Carlos, escorted by an English fleet, secured Parma and Plasencia; his succession to Tuscany had been ensured by arrangement with the Grand Duke.

B. Criticism.

Charles had sacrificed his naval and commercial schemes to secure, as he wrongly hoped, the succession

of Maria Theresa to the Austrian dominions. Elizabeth Ferrero had at last succeeded in her main object. France had stood aloof, and in consequence the growing friendship between France and Spain, which seemed dangerous to Europe, had cooled. Spain was on friendly terms with Britain and the Emperor. The peace of Europe seemed assured.

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THE WAR OF THE POLISH SUCCESSION

I. Political Conditions in 1732.

General conditions seemed to indicate an early outbreak of war and the hopes for European peace aroused by the Second Treaty of Vienna had not been fulfilled, although Walpole and Petre did all they could to preserve peace, and Fleury, although he called the British "traitors" for their recent action, had the same object.

A. France.

A war party led by Choiseul and Villars, annoyed by the action of Britain in making the Second Peace of Vienna without the co-operation of France, wished to unite with Spain, and thus to check the commercial development of Britain, and to get the assistance of the German states and Sardinia against the Emperor, the ally of Britain. France steadily refused to guarantee the Pragmatic Sanction."

B. Spain.

Philip V advocated alliance with France, and Elizabeth Farnese, who had wished to remain friendly with Britain, turned against her on finding that this country would not support her in her schemes for further aggression in Italy which involved hostility to Austria.

C. Great Britain.

Great Britain had gained substantial commercial advantages by the Treaties of Seville and Vienna, but difficulties between her and Spain in the West Indies grew steadily worse. The British, whose trade was limited by the *Asiento* to the despatch of one ship a year to the West Indies, established a great and growing contraband trade; the Spanish Customs officers tried to put it down with great severity; British men-of-war fired on the Spaniards who tried to stop smuggling.

Disputes arose between the two countries as to the boundaries of Georgia and the right of cutting logwood. There was a strong demand in Britain for alliance with Austria, which had no colonies, rather than France and Spain, whose colonial interests clashed with those of Britain.

D. The Empire.

The friendly relations established in 1735 between Spain and the Empire had been broken; Charles VI was poor, the Turks constituted a standing danger to his Eastern frontier and, though he desired peace, war between France and the Empire seemed likely, while Elizabeth Farnese's designs seemed sure to cause war between Spain and Austria.

II. The Polish Succession.

Frederick Augustus, Elector of Saxony, ruled as King Augustus II in Poland from 1697-1704, when he was deposed in favour of Stanislaus I, and from

1709, when Stanislaus was deposed, until he died in February, 1738.

A. The re-election of Stanislaus I.

The Polish national party wished to restore their fellow-countryman Stanislaus Leszczyński, father-in-law of Louis XV.,¹ and France advocated his selection.

September 1st, 1733. Stanislaus I was re-elected as King of Poland at Warsaw.

B. Frederick Augustus II.

October, 1733. Frederick Augustus II² was elected King in succession to his father by an Austro-Russian party. He was supported by Austria and Russia, who resented the re-establishment of French influence in Poland and hoped to secure Polish territory for themselves. He promised Charles VI to guarantee the Pragmatic Sanction, and called Charles to Russia, which sent troops to support him.

C. Flight of Stanislaus I.

Owing to lack of French support Stanislaus fled from Warsaw to Dantzic, which was besieged in October, 1733. France sent only one ship and fifteen hundred men to help him.

June, 1734. Dantzic was captured, Stanislaus escaped to France and King Augustus III kept his throne.

III. The Policy of France.

Charles VI had aroused resentment in France, which strongly favoured the cause of Stanislaus, by his support of Augustus, although he had not taken such active steps as Russia. France, which wanted to secure Lorraine, wanted the betrothal of Maria Theresa to Francis Duke of Lorraine, which would bind Lorraine more closely to the Empire.

¹ Page 28.

² King Augustus III.

A. The Treaty of Turin, September 26th, 1796.

Charles Emmanuel III, the young King of Sardinia, had in September, 1796, ascended the throne on the abdication of his father, Victor Amadeus II. He was anxious to extend his territory in Italy and made with France the Treaty of Turin which aimed at expelling the Austrians from Italy and provided—

- (1) That Charles Emmanuel should retain Milan and the "Milanese."
- (2) That Don Carlos should receive Naples and Sicily.
- (3) That France should receive Savoy.

Thus the sons of Elizabeth Farnese would secure important concessions in the south and centre of Italy, while the power of Sardinia, in spite of the cession of Savoy, would be increased in the north.

B. War declared.

October 23rd, 1793. France declared war on Austria.

C. France and Turkey.

Failing to secure the help of Prussia, which was anxious to secure Polish Prussia, or of Sweden, which was too weak to assist, Frey tried to get help from Turkey, which, like Poland, was endangered by the growing power of Russia. Turkey, fearing that her intervention in Poland would give Austria an opportunity to attack her, refused to move until France made an alliance with her and declared war on Austria. Frey, unwilling to make an alliance with the infidel, acted in so dilatory a manner that he failed to secure the help of the Turks, who in 1783-1784 were engaged in fighting the Persians under Nadir Shah, who had been instigated to attack Turkey by Russia.

D. The First Family Compact. The Treaty of the Escorial.

November 7th, 1763. France and Spain swore "eternal and irrevocable union"; Frederick not to

recognise the Pragmatic Sanction; to unite their forces to prosecute the war in Italy, to recover Gibraltar for Spain and to check the commercial policy of Great Britain; to guarantee each other's territories.

B. Great Britain.

Differences had arisen between France and Britain. The French had refused completely to dismantle Dunkirk because of its value as a port; they were jealous of the commercial privileges England had secured by the *Assiento*; the continued persecution of the French Protestants provoked indignation in England.

The French were now anxious to secure the valuable support of Britain and Holland, but Holland refused to fight and Walpole declined to join in the war without Holland and continued his peace policy, in spite of the strong German sympathies of the King and Queen and of the demand for war against the *Bourbons* that arose when the Family Compact of 1763 became known in England. "Madame," said Walpole to the Queen, "there are fifty thousand men slain this year in Europe and not one Englishman." British intervention on the side of Austria would have led to new plots on behalf of the Pretender and Walpole's policy strengthened the Hanoverian dynasty. But it is possible that such intervention might have benefited Britain and Europe by averting the War of the Austrian Succession.

IV. The War.

A. The Rhine.

The French army was commanded by Marshal Berwick¹; the Imperial army was led by Eugene, under whom served Maurice of Saxony.²

1756. The French capture Kehl.

¹ Son of James II and Arabella Churchill.

² Generally known as Marshal Saxe. The son of King Frederick Augustus I and the Governor of Klotzenbach.

1734. The French overran Lorraine and took Philippsburg, where Barwick was killed.

B. Italy.

The Emperor had transferred most of his troops from Italy to the Polish frontier.

(1) The North.

1733. Charles Emmanuel took Milan and, with the co-operation of Villars' French army, overran the Milanese and invaded the Duchy of Mantua. But Charles Emmanuel wanted to get Mantua for himself and refused to co-operate with the Spaniards, who wished to secure it for Elisabeth Farnese. Villars resigned his command and died at Turin in June, 1734.

1734. The French defeated the Imperialists at Parma and Guastalla.

(2) The South.

Imperial troops had been removed from the South to protect the Milanese.

1734. The Spaniards, under Montemar, routed the Austrians at Bitonto and easily overran Naples.

1735. The Spaniards invaded Sicily. The Sicilians, who hated the Austrians, welcomed them.

July, 1735. Don Carlos was crowned King of the Two Sicilies at Palermo.

V. The Third Treaty of Vienna, 1734-1735.

Flouzy feared that Great Britain might intervene and that Charles VI might come to terms with Elisabeth Farnese and thus isolate France; knew that Charles Emmanuel was negotiating with the Emperor; was anxious to save France from further expense and loss of life. The appearance on the Rhine of a Russian force, in alliance with Austria, made Flouzy more eager for peace.

October, 1735. France and the Emperor signed the preliminary of the Third Treaty of Vienna.

A. Terms

- (1) France guaranteed the Pragmatic Sanction.
 - (2) Don Carlos was to surrender Parma and Piacenza and to receive the Two Sicilies.
 - (3) The Emperor was to receive Parma and Piacenza.
 - (4) Charles Emmanuel got Savoy and Tortona.
 - (5) Stanislaus resigned his claim on the throne of Poland, was to hold during his life Lorraine and Bar, which on his death were to be annexed to France.
 - (6) Francis of Lorraine was to marry Maria Theresa, and on the death of the Grand Duke of Tuscany was to receive that dukedom in exchange for Lorraine.
- [February 15th, 1738. Marriage of Francis of Lorraine and Maria Theresa.]

The separation of Lorraine from the Empire was a distinct gift to France.

B. The Peace Treaty signed.

November 18th, 1738. The treaty between France and Austria was signed and was accepted by Spain in April, 1739.

VI. The Importance of the War of the Polish Succession.

France obtained Lorraine on the death of Stanislaus in 1768 and greatly strengthened her eastern border; the Emperor had regained some of his lost territory and secured the recognition by France of the Pragmatic Sanction, to which he attached the greatest importance; the somewhat unscrupulous diplomacy of Charles Emmanuel had strengthened his kingdom of Sardinia, although he did not gain as much territory as he expected; the Spanish Bourbons had secured Southern Italy and Sicily, which they retained until the success of Victor Emmanuel and Garibaldi led to the deposition of Francis II in 1860.

The war affected the future history of Europe. It

had shown the great importance of the alliance between Russia and Austria, which involved opposition to Turkey and thus made the Eastern Question a problem of European politics; it had shown the weakness of Poland and strengthened the tendency towards the partition of that country. Frederick William I of Prussia resented his exclusion from the negotiations that preceded the peace and viewed with suspicion the designs of Austria on Poland; thus the War of the Polish Succession formed a distinct element in the growing rivalry between Prussia and Austria. The danger of the union of the Bourbon powers had been revealed, and the fear that that union might be made effective was greatly to influence British politics. Italy had taken a distinct step towards national unity.

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FRANCE FROM 1740-1774

I. The Condition of the People.

A. The Nobles.

By the beginning of the seventeenth century many of the old feudal families had died out; the nobility consisted largely of men who had been enrolled for official service; out of about 40,000 noble families only 200 belonged to the old feudal nobility. They enjoyed exemption from taxation, and particularly from the taille and corvée; the highest offices in Church and State were reserved for them; the officers in the army were always of noble birth.

Under Louis XIV society as well as government had been centralised at Versailles. Every nobleman was expected to attend the Court at Versailles, where alone offices and advancement could be secured; the King banished to their estates those who had offended him, and such banishment involved political and social ruin.

The nobles became a class of absentee landlords; their estates were neglected and the consequent loss of revenue ruined the aristocracy, while diminished production impoverished the country. The estates of the nobles were often bought by wealthy merchants, and many small holdings were purchased by the peasants.

The centralisation of society led to a deterioration of conduct. "Manners took the place of morals"; under Louis XV the nobles were openly vicious¹ and the outward decorum which had marked the Court of Louis XIV disappeared.

B. The Clergy.

The Church was a rich, self-governed corporation, possessing an income of about 200,000,000 livres and owning one-fifth of the land of France; the clergy claimed exemption from taxation because their property was dedicated to God, although they sometimes made "free gifts" to the King. Tithes brought in large revenues.

The upper clergy were often ignorant and immoral. They, like the nobles, frequented the Court and were little more than "great lords with a hundred thousand livres income." The poor parish priests, who did most of the work, were of humble origin.

C. The Middle Class.

The Middle and Lower Classes made up the Third Estate. The former enjoyed a large measure of prosperity; they included the financiers, some of whom made great fortunes, and the merchants, who profited by the increase in trade which quadrupled between 1720 and 1788.

¹ See *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. VI, page 125.

D. The Lower Classes.

(1) In the country.

a. Feudal survivals.

The duty of government, formerly involved in the feudal system, had been transferred from the feudal lords to the Crown. But the former still retained many of their old feudal rights. The continued assertion of feudal rights impeded the cultivation of the soil, prevented the middle class from settling in the country, greatly irritated the peasants.

Although serfdom had been abolished, except in Alsace and Lorraine, the peasants in many places still had to render old feudal services : to use the lord's mill, wine-press or oven ; to pay him bridge and market tolls and a share of their produce. Strict laws preserved game which, and especially deer and wild boars, damaged the crops ; the innumerable pigeons in the lords' dovecots proved almost equally destructive.

b. Taxation.

The peasant, unlike the privileged classes, was exempt from no taxation, and the taille, a property tax, the gabelle, a tax on salt, were heavy burdens ; the corvée,¹ which included compulsory service for road-making, bridges and public works, and which was instituted by Henry in 1783, injured agriculture by hindering the peasants from cultivating their ground. Of the produce of the peasants' land the King took one-third, the Church one-third and the peasants kept only one-third for themselves.

¹ *Levin, op. cit.* corrigenda, 40 " were done at command " of the Intendant.

(2) In the towns.

Artisans in towns were hampered by the guilds which had been encouraged by Colbert. The guilds were restricted to masters; they did not admit journeyman or apprentices; their regulations hampered trade, e.g. the tailor who made clothes could not mend them, the cobbler could not make new boots, the man who baked cakes could not bake bread. But guilds were limited to the chief domestic industries; the newer manufactures such as silk, porcelain and glass were free from such restrictions, which were often evaded.

(3) General.

The general condition of the lower classes was bad—D'Alembert said in 1760 "more Frenchmen have died of misery in these two years than were killed in all the wars of Louis XIV." In 1789 peasants were living on grass and bread made of bracken; in 1790 there was famine in Paris and the Parisians metted the King's servants demanding bread; many in despair took to brigandage.

But the large towns prospered, the mercantile marine grew; the peasants, by about 1750, had acquired a quarter of the land and were better off than those of most European countries who were sunk at the absolute disposal of their lords. In spite of wars, the population of France increased from about seventeen millions in 1715 to about twenty-five millions in 1789.

The distress was real, though less than elsewhere. The real danger lay in the fact that in France distress led to active discontent, to which the work of the Philosophes was soon to give effective expression.

II. The Government.

A. The King.

(1) Absolutism.

Although Louis XIV had incurred some amount of unpopularity at the end of his reign, the despotic monarchy he had established continued. Louis XV declared in 1763, "We hold our Crown from God alone. The right of making laws belongs to ourselves alone; we neither delegate it nor share it." The lettre de cachet, which imposed arbitrary imprisonment without trial by the authority of the King, was one of the best illustrations of his absolute power.

(2) The Royal Council.

The Royal Council, which carried out the whole administration of the country, consisted of about forty members, including the chief ministers of State. The ministers, of whom the Controller-General of the Finances was the chief, decided specially important business in small committees over which the King presided. The ministers were noble either by birth or office; the ordinary members generally belonged to the upper middle class. The volume of work thrown upon the Council was so great that the business of the country was always in arrears.

B. The Parliament of Paris.

Of the thirteen Parliaments,¹ that of Paris, which originated in the Curia Regia of the early Capetians, was the chief. It was primarily a judicial body, but had to register royal edicts and claimed the right of enregistré and even refusing to register edicts of which it disapproved. Its jurisdiction was limited by the right of the Royal Council to quash its decrees and by the power of the King to hold a lit de justice, or special meeting, at which he compelled it to register his decrees.

¹ Paris, Toulouse, Grenoble, Bordeaux, Dijon, Rouen, Aix, Rennes, Metz, Orléans, Nancy and Besanzon.

During the eighteenth century the Parlement of Paris, which had been ignored by Louis XIV, became more important. It had exercised political power by declaring Orleans Regent in 1715,¹ but unsuccessfully opposed the Mississippi Scheme in 1718; it took an active part in religious controversies and came into sharp conflict with the Crown.

(1) Religion.

The Parlement showed sympathy towards the Jansenists, who had flocked back to Paris in 1715, and hostility towards the Jesuits.

a. The Jansenists.

1720. Owing to the pressure of Dubois the Parlement accepted at Fontenay the Bull *Unigenitus*.²

1722. Jansenism had spread particularly in Paris and among the wealthy, merchant class; it was strong in the Parlement, which strongly opposed the ultramontane tendency of the Government.

1742. The Archbishop of Paris, conspirator in the attempt of Madam de Maffault to tax the Church, ordered his clergy to refuse absolution to the dying unless they accepted the Bull *Unigenitus*. The Parlement arrested the curé of St. Etienne du Mont for refusing absolution to a suspected Jansenist, and in 1763 tried to seize the Archbishop's property and to bring him to trial. The King called the Parlement and appointed a Grand Chamber in its place, but the lawyers refused to practice before it.

1764. Louis XV recalled the Parlement to Paris.

b. The Jesuits.

The growth of scepticism, the attacks of the Philosophers and the hatred of Madame de

¹ Page 2.

² *Notes on European History*, Vol. II, page 302.

Pompadour, who resented their criticism of her conduct, weakened the Jansenists, who had impaired their spiritual efficiency by engaging in commerce. They appealed to the Parliament of Paris against a judgment for a debt of 2,400,000 francs incurred by their administrator in Martinique. The Parliament, supported by Choiseul and Madame de Pompadour, affirmed the judgment and examined the constitutions of the Order. The Parlements of Paris and the Provinces condemned the Order, which was suppressed by Louis XV in November, 1764.

37. The Crown.

a. Finance.

August 26th, 1774. Owing to the opposition Parliament refused to Law's schemes and its attempt to interfere in the political and financial administration, Orleans held a *lit de justice* which annulled its recent decrees and deprived it of the right of remonstrance in political matters.

1780. Owing to its refusal to support measures to relieve the financial crisis, Dubois banished the Parliament to Pontoise.

1786. Parliament refused to register edicts for new taxes to meet the cost of the war with England, continued its opposition to the Bull and tried by union with other Parlements to check the Great Council. In a *lit de justice* on December 18th, 1786, the King ordered that all edicts should be registered and suppressed two chambers. In consequence one hundred and eighty members resigned.

January 8th, 1787. Danciers stabbed Louis XV owing to his treatment of Parliament. The Parliament was soon re-attempt.

B. Judiciary.

1770. The Parliament, contrary to the King's orders, but with the connivance of Choiseul, declared the Duke of Aiguillon suspended from his privileges owing to abuse of his power in Brittany; when their decrees were annulled by a *lit de justice* they stopped the administration of justice. Choiseul was "called to his estates"; the "triumvirate," Aiguillon, Maupeou and Terray, in April, 1771, abolished the Parliament and established in its place the "Parlement Maupeou." Maupeou boasted that he "had got the crown out of the registrar's office."

(3) General.

The Parliament had failed in its struggle with the Crown. But their frank criticism of the acts of King and ministers weakened the prestige of the Crown, prepared the way for the Revolution by bringing important questions before the notice of the people and "asserted the existence of an unwritten constitution which limited the King's power and of which they were the guardians."

C. Provincial Government.

(1) Division.

The Kingdom of France had been gradually formed by the incorporation in the Royal Domain of great feudal states and by foreign conquest. The Provinces differed in race, language, traditions, laws and customs; the country was not homogeneous; the monarchy was the only bond of union. The old Provincial Estates survived only in the *Pays d'état* such as Brittany, Languedoc and other provinces which had possessed administrative assemblies before their union with the Royal Domain; and there were twelve Provincial Parliaments. In the *Pays d'États*, so called because

at one time magistrates had been elected to assess the taxes, the royal Intendants exercised all power and the Government was altogether centralised. The King "demanded" a tax from the *Peys d'Or* and "imposed" it on the *Peys d'Anjou*.

Serious difficulties arose owing to the nonrecognition of local courts, laws and customs duties.

a. Local courts.

The administration of justice was complicated by the survival of feudal jurisdiction. At the end of the eighteenth century one hundred and twenty-five feudal courts existed in the Province of Normandy and twenty-nine in the city of Le Mans.

b. Laws.

The old Roman written law prevailed in the South; the rest of the country was subject to customary law. But these were modified by local law, and it is calculated that there were "in France on the eve of the Revolution at least three hundred and sixty distinct bodies of law, in force sometimes throughout a whole Province, sometimes in a much smaller area."¹

The penal code was brutal; breaches of the local regulations were punished with great severity; the persecuting laws against the Protestants were cruelly enforced.

c. Taxation and Customs.

The incidence of taxation varied greatly. In the region of the Great Salt Tax around Paris the gabelle was about thirty times as heavy as in Brittany, ten times as heavy as in Poitou, twice as heavy as in Dauphiné. Customs were imposed in each province, and workmen who crossed the Rhone to their work had to

¹ Cambridge Modern History, Vol. VI, page 48.

pay customs on the food they took with them. In these circumstances smuggling, particularly in salt, was very prevalent and trade was impeded. The carriage of goods from Provence to Normandy, owing to delays caused by customs and tolls, took three and a half months instead of three weeks.

(3) The Intendants.

Provincial Governors, chief nobles, had little real authority; everywhere the Intendants, royal officers established by Richelieu, were supreme, although their authority was limited by the Estates of the *Pays d'état*. Law said that "this Kingdom of France is governed by thirty Intendants." They conducted all local administration; fixed the amount of taxes due from each district; controlled the local police, public works and the courts; relieved the poor; regulated commerce and exercised summary jurisdiction.

The communal courts in the country districts, the municipal corporations, which had become more oligarchic, required the sanction of the Intendant for their proceedings.

The Intendants could not cope with the work their posts involved, and local business, like national, was often in arrear. The administration of France was in a state of chaos.

III. Finance.

A. General.

The financial system was hopeless. National accounts were the King's private concern, and he drew blank orders, *quais de comptant*, on the Treasury at pleasure; one hundred and seventeen million francs were so drawn in 1733, mainly at the instigation of Madame de Pompadour. No budget was prepared; much of the expenditure escaped audit; no public statement of accounts was made until the time of Necker's Comptes

Roads in 1781. Owing to the privileges of the nobles and clergy the main burden of taxation was borne by the lowest classes, and differences in incidence caused great hardship and rendered intolerable a burden which could have been easily borne if equitably distributed. Many taxes were farmed and taxpayers were cruelly oppressed by the farmers, who were anxious to make as large a profit as possible.

B. Deficit.

There was an annual deficit, and five times between 1754 and 1771 the Government had repudiated part or all of its obligations. In 1788 the deficit for the year was 160,000,000 livres, the total debt 4,400,000,000, on which the interest amounted to 336,000,000 livres per annum.

C. Some particular taxes.

(1) The Taille.

The taille was a tax on property; it was reassessed every year, and an improvement in property meant an increase in taxation. Many officials and other privileged members of the middle class obtained exemption, as well as nobles and clergy, and peasants often neglected their land to escape payment. The taille was thus a distinct check on agriculture.

(2) The Gabelle.

Salt was a strict government monopoly. In the Basin of the Grande Gabelle it was practically a poll tax, as everybody above seven years of age was required to purchase seven pounds a year. This was to be used only for cooking, it could not be used for salting sheep, meat or fish, and the use of salt water for cooking or manufacture was forbidden.

(3) Other taxes.

A poll tax, capitation, graduated according to rank, was paid by the head of each household; the vingtième

¹ See also above, page 49 c.

was a tithe on property ; the *cotise* was a local tax, and taxes were paid for customs, *avaries*, and excises, *aides*, and on tobacco, saltpetre and other goods. Out of every hundred francs the peasants paid from eighty-one to eighty-two for direct taxation, feudal dues and tithes, and the *poëlle* and *aides* had to be paid out of the balance.

D. Machinery.

An honest attempt of Machinery in 1788 to improve the financial position failed, and the condition of the country grew gradually worse.

IV. The Philosophers.

During the eighteenth century France lost her pre-eminence in arms and diplomacy, but became the leader of European thought. The Philosophers gave direction and expression to the discontent of the times, and Voltaire's *Letters on the English*, 1734, marks the beginning of their attack on existing institutions. England supplied the inspiration of the movement ; Voltaire was profoundly influenced by Locke ; the English constitution formed the basis of the new order Montesquieu hoped to establish in France ; Richardson's novels influenced Rousseau.

The study of science in the seventeenth century had led to the substitution of observation for hypothesis, the recognition of the importance of experience and the reference of ideas to bodily sensations. The philosophic movement of the eighteenth century was largely the development of these tendencies in the light of reason.

The Philosophers supported the cause of freedom against the long-established authority of Church, State and Society, and their destructive criticism had been anticipated in the seventeenth century by Bayle, Tschud and Saint-Evremond.

But the movement was also constructive. Rousseau's theories of Social Contract and Natural Rights formed

the basis of future legislation, and his theories about education were of great practical value; Voltaire advocated the reform of the criminal laws and the adoption of a uniform system of law. *Bienfaisance*,² or the promotion of the good of humanity, was the object of the Philosophers.

A. Voltaire, 1694-1778.

(1) Life.

François Marie Arouet, the son of a notary, changed his name to Voltaire. He was educated by the Jesuits, was imprisoned in the Bastille; during his residence in England, from 1726-1729, he became a great student of English laws and literature.

(2) Works.

In his *Candide*, 1718, he attacked the priests; in the *Henriade*, 1725, exalted Henry IV and adversely criticised Louis XIV; his *Lectures on the English*, 1734, were burned by the hangman owing to their attacks on kings and governments.

(3) Importance.

Voltaire lacked originality, but his command of clear, satirical language and his power of lucid reasoning made his attack on the old regime very powerful; he first gave effective expression to prevailing discontent. His work was mainly, though not entirely, destructive.

He violently attacked the Church. "The most absurd of empires, the most humiliating for human nature, is that of priests; and of all sacerdotal empires, the most criminal is that of priests of the Christian religion." He advocated freedom of belief, thought and utterance, and the impartial and humane administration of justice.

His attitude towards politics was conservative. He had no sympathy with democratic opinions and therefore was invited by the Abbé Saint Pierre 1699-1742.

approved of the suppression of the Parliament in 1771; he differed from Rousseau in regarding primitive man as a more savage; he reproached monarchy, but asserted that it was the duty of the monarch, whom he regarded as a benevolent despot, to reform the evils of the clergy and promote the happiness of the masses.

B. Montesquieu, 1689-1755.

Charles de Secondat, Baron de Montesquieu, had been brought up as a lawyer. His *Penal Letters*, published in 1751, were a protest against the absolute monarchy which Louis XIV had established. His *Spirit of the Laws*, which appeared in 1748, combined a violent attack on the Church with theories as to the reorganization of the monarchy. He held that governments should satisfy the special-needs of the people, and thought that the best interests of France would be caused by a revival of the old monarchy of Henry IV, limited by aristocratic institutions. This desire to establish a limited monarchy is an important difference between Montesquieu and both Voltaire and the Encyclopedists, who all favored benevolent despotism, and Rousseau, the champion of the sovereign people. He wished to lighten direct taxation, thought that the State should give all men an opportunity of working, and declared that the duty of the State was to provide for all citizens "an assured subsistence, daily bread, decent clothes, and a kind of life not destructive of health."

C. The Encyclopedists.

The first volume of the Encyclopædia appeared in 1751; the first two were suppressed in 1752 for attacking the clergy, but publication was continued until the issue of the seventeenth volume in 1793.

The editor was Denis Diderot, "a great philosopher and strong reasoner," who was assisted by D'Alembert the mathematician. The contributors included Turgot,

Bonnet, Buffon the naturalist, Marmontel, who dealt with literature, Quenay, who wrote on agriculture, and nearly every "philosopher" of the day.

The *Encyclopédie* represents "the collision between the old principles of Louis XIV... and the new nationalistic principle of spiritual emancipation."³ It judged all institutions and beliefs by the light of reason; it aimed at the emancipation of mankind, and the removal of all religious and political errors, advocated a re-orientation of education free from Church control. The evils of the time, e.g. the parlements, the corvée, the Militia, were fully exposed; "the irresistible forces that were working against the maintenance of the feudal-system" were clearly set forth; and "every page of the *Encyclopédie* was, in fact, a plea for toleration."⁴ The *Encyclopédie* "first grasped the great principle of modern society, the honor that is owed to productive industry. They were vehement for the glories of peace and passionate against the beaten glories of war."⁵ They did not attack monarchy, but emphasized the duty of Government to improve the condition of the people.

D. The Physiocrats or Economists.

The Physiocrats were founded in 1757 by Madame de Pompadour's physician Quenay, who in 1758 published his *Tableau Economique*. Their aim was to improve the material conditions of France. They thought that land was the sole source of wealth and wished to help agriculture by replacing the existing taxes by a single tax. They held that there were "natural laws" ordained by God and that the observance of these would lead to material prosperity and happiness. They advocated free trade, free agriculture and free industry. They objected to undue interference by the State, and Quenay's friend Gournay was the first to formulate the principle of *laissez-faire et laissez-passer*.

³ Lord Macaulay, *Discours*, Vol 1, page 184. ⁴ Lord Macaulay. ⁵ *Ibid.* ⁶ *Ibid.*

B. Jean Jacques Rousseau, 1712-1778.

(1) Life.

Rousseau was born at Geneva and was descended from Huguenots who had been driven from France by persecution. He was at different times a domestic servant, a clerk to a land surveyor and secretary to the French ambassador at Venice. He travelled widely, and from January, 1768, to May, 1769, lived in England, where George III gave him a pension. Voltaire's *Letters on the English* proved his first inspiration, and he was strongly influenced by the teaching of Locke. He wrote an article on music for the *Encyclopédie*. His life was immoral; he sent his illegitimate children to a foundling hospital.

(2) Difference between Rousseau and other Philosophers.

Rousseau differed on important points from Voltaire and Diderot. Rousseau appealed to the heart rather than the reason. By appealing to sentiment he roused the coloured people of France to action, and his *Novelle Helve* preached the gospel of equality. He looked for improvement by substituting for the sovereignty of monarchy the sovereignty of the people. He held that man in a state of nature was not a savage; within his contemporaries, he showed little appreciation of the progress man had made and hoped to redress the evils of the time by reference to the past. He had "conceived a deadly hatred against the whole social system."

The Social Contract, 1762.

Rousseau's theories are stated in his *Dissertation on the Origin of Inequality*, 1755, and his better known *Social Contract*.

"Man," he says in the opening words of the latter "is born free, and everywhere he is in chains." In order to preserve society "each of us places in common his person and his whole power under the supreme

direction of the general will," and the body thus constituted by the "social contract" is the sovereign. Each citizen is both a member of the sovereign body and, as an individual, the servant of the sovereign. The sovereignty is inalienable and indivisible, and laws are the expression of the general will of the sovereign upon any object of common interest. The Government is the minister of the sovereign. The sovereign must establish a purely civil profession of faith, but those who denied the existence of God or a future life were to be banished.

Rousseau's teaching, which lacks historical support, was accepted by the Jacobins, who found in it justification for the doctrine of fraternity, and it proved one of the chief of the immediate causes of the Revolution.

V. Louis XV, 1715-1774.

A. Character and unpopularity.

Louis XV was one of the most worthless of the kings of France. He was influenced by a succession of mistresses; he was intelligent but indolent; he lived only to amuse himself and "could not find a day for serious business." Up to 1744 he had enjoyed some measure of undeserved popularity, and his recovery from illness in that year led to such rejoicings that he was nicknamed *Louis le Bien-aimé*. But in his later years he was completely out of sympathy with his people and avoided all intercourse with them. People began to blame the King for all the evils of the time; he incurred the odium of the national bankruptcy declared by Turgot in 1771; the people of Paris accused him of partnership in the *Paste de Famine*, a corner in wheat which plundered everybody. The nobles resented the sway of Madame de Pompadour, the wife of a civil servant, and were furious at the favour shown by Louis XV to Madame du Barry, a vulgar courtesan. The Parliament of Paris gained the strong support of the people in its struggle with the King.

B. Decline of France.

(1) Territory.

Under Louis XV France gained Lorraine, on the death of Stanislaus Leszcinski in 1766, and Corsica, bought in 1768 from Genoa, which had failed to suppress Paul's rising. But much of the French colonial empire in India and North America was gained by Britain, which secured command of the sea and did great damage to French commerce.

(2) Diplomacy.

a. Louis XV as a diplomatist.

On the death of Fleury in 1743 Louis resolved to be his own foreign minister, but was so timid "that after having carefully sought out the right course he almost always decided, although with regret, for the wrong one when it was proposed by his ministers or his ministers."

In November, 1744, D'Argenson became Minister of Foreign Affairs. In order to further his own wishes Louis XV now organized a private diplomatic service of his own, and as his secret orders contradicted and undermined those of the official ministry French diplomacy was greatly weakened.

In 1745 Louis gave secret support to the attempts of the Prince de Conti to secure the Polish throne, although, at D'Argenson's request, he signed contrary instructions to the French minister to Poland. He carried out secret negotiations with Sweden and Turkey.

b. Madame de Pompadour.

From 1745, when she gained the King's favour, until her death in 1764, Madame de

Pompadour, the daughter of an army contractor, ruled France. Her great ability enabled her to maintain her position, in spite of the hostility of the nobles owing to her obscure birth. "The King now became almost a puppet in the State"; "foreign courts paid their court to her, and the French ministers looked to her for advancement."¹ Madame de Pompadour supported the dismissal of D'Argenson in 1747 and secured the appointment of Machault as Controller-General in 1748 and of Choiseul as Foreign Minister in 1758; she tried to keep France out of war in 1756 because she feared that war "would interrupt the pleasures and amusements of the King, upon which are based her credit and existence as court";² she supported war with Prussia later largely owing to the uncomplimentary remarks Frederick the Great had made about her; she joined with the Parliaments in 1764 to attack the Jesuits because they had condemned her conduct. The Austrian alliance of 1756 was due to Madame de Pompadour and Kaunitz. Her foreign policy dominated France and led "to the loss of her colonies, the disorder of her finances and an entire change in public feeling."³

C. The Importance of Louis XV.

The importance of Louis XV lies in the fact that owing to his indolence, inefficiency and appalling immorality the prestige of the Crown was diminished. The monarch was still supreme, but his policy and conduct were open to severe criticism, and the Philosophers had taught the people of France to criticize. In the next reign criticism was to cause "the deluge" which Louis prophesied would follow him.

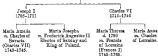
¹ Kluckhohn. ² Bagehot. ³ Kappeler quoted by Dr. Hill.

⁴ Cambridge Modern History, Vol. VI, page 331.

THE PRAGMATIC SANCTION

LEOPOLD I

1658-1705



I. The Succession to the Hapsburg Dominions.

The Hapsburg dominions included Austria, Bohemia with Moravia and Silesia, Hungary, the Milanese and the Austrian Netherlands. If they were to remain united it was essential that the dynasty should be maintained, for common subjection to the House of Hapsburg was practically the only bond of union. Administrative reforms were urgently necessary if the union was to be strengthened.

A. The Pragmatic Sanction.

In April, 1713, Charles VI had declared his own daughters heirs to the Hapsburg dominions in preference to those of his elder brother Joseph and had insisted on the indivisibility of those dominions. This arrangement is known as the Pragmatic Sanction.

1713, Charles' niece Maria Josepha formally recognised her claims to the Hapsburg dominions on her marriage to the Electoral Prince of Saxony (Augustus II), and in 1722 her sister Maria Amalia made a similar recognition on her marriage to Charles of Savoy.

In 1783 Charles settled all his dominions on Maria Theresa.

By 1791 all the dominions, including the recently added¹ Milanese and Austrian Netherlands, had accepted the Pragmatic Sanction.

B. Possible rivals.

On the death of Charles VI several rivals of Maria Theresa advanced their claims.

(1) Bavaria.

Charles of Bavaria repudiated his wife's renunciation and claimed the Hapsburg dominions himself on the ground that his ancestress Anne, daughter of the Emperor Ferdinand I, had made her descendants heirs on the failure of the male line of the Hapsburgs. An examination of the will showed that it provided for the extinction of "federal" and not purely of "male" descendants.

(2) Saxony.

Ferdinand Augustus of Saxony had accepted the Pragmatic Sanction in 1743 in return for the support of the Emperor Charles VI in his candidature for the Polish throne. He now asserted the hereditary rights of his wife and made a special claim to Bohemia.

(3) Spain.

Philip V of Spain asserted that, in accordance with old agreements, the Spanish Hapsburgs were to inherit when the Austrian branch died out and that he was the heir to the Spanish Hapsburgs and was therefore entitled to succeed on the failure of the Austrian male line.

Philip's claim was absurd; that of Saxony was strictly based on a "breach of treaty obligations";² Bavaria was the most dangerous of Maria Theresa's rivals.

¹ By the Treaties of Utrecht 1713 and Rastadt 1714. See *Notes on European History*, Part II, pages 352-4.

² Locks.

II. The Guarantees of the Pragmatic Sanction.

Austria was in a bad state. She lacked unity; her administrative system was inefficient; her finances embarrassed and her social organisation out of date; her difficulties had been increased by the cost of the War of the Polish Succession, 1733-1738,¹ and the war against Turkey which ended with the unsatisfactory Treaty of Belgrade in 1739. Instead of improving the conditions of Austria, Charles VI devoted all his energies to secure the accession of Maria Theresa; he neglected Eugene's advice that a strong army and a full treasury were the best means of ensuring that accession and tried to secure his object by agreement with the Powers.

Charles also wished to secure the election as Emperor of Francis of Tuscany,² who had married Maria Theresa on February 15th, 1736. Hoping that a son might be born to him, he had neglected to safeguard Francis' position by securing his election as King of the Romans.³

The Pragmatic Sanction, which had been accepted by the Austrian dominions by 1754, was accepted by Russia in 1760; by Holland and Great Britain in 1761; by Denmark and most of the members of the German Diet, but not by Saxony, Bavaria and the Palatinate, in 1762; by Saxony in 1763.

A. France.

France, the old enemy of the Hapsburgs, was reluctant to accept the Pragmatic Sanction, and in 1731 Flcury declined to accept the Treaty of Vienna, which guaranteed the Sanction, on the ground that its acceptance would be as bad for France as the loss of three battles. France guaranteed the Sanction by the Peace of Vienna, 1738, on condition of the cession of Lorraine to Stanislaus

¹ Pages 14-61.

² He had been compelled to exchange Lorraine for Tuscany by the Peace of Vienna, 1735. Page 48.

³ The King of the Romans was the next successor to the Empire.

of Poland and of the Two Sicilies and Tuscany to Don Carlos.¹

But in 1714 France had promised to support the Elector of Bavaria's candidature for the Empire at the next vacancy; in 1717 and in 1720 Fleury repeated the promise and undertook also to support the Elector's claims to the Hapsburg inheritance; in 1738 he tried to reconcile his guarantee of the Sanction with his promises to Bavaria by distinguishing between a claim and a hereditary possession.

B. Prussia.

Frederick William I had guaranteed the Pragmatic Sanction in 1726 in return for vague promises as to Jülich, Berg and Ravensstein from Charles VI, and had used his influence on the Emperor's behalf in the Diet of 1733. These promises had been evaded, and in 1739 France had guaranteed to Prussia the possession of Berg and Jülich.

Frederick II asserted that Silesia "belonged by right of reversion to the electors of Brandenburg." This claim was ultimately based on an agreement made in 1497 between Joachim II of Brandenburg and the Duke of Liegnitz; it had been formally renewed by the Elector Frederick III in 1654, but had not been advanced by Frederick William I.

C. Great Britain and Holland.

Great Britain and Holland had guaranteed the Pragmatic Sanction in 1701 on condition that the Emperor gave up the Ostend East India Company.²

D. Spain, Sardinia and Naples.

Spain had guaranteed the Pragmatic Sanction in 1726, Charles Emmanuel III of Sardinia in 1739, although the latter, following his family's policy of "tearing the Lombard articles out from leaf," was anxious to

¹ Page 46.

² Page 25.

seize the Milanese, and Elizabeth Farnese desired to form out of the other Austrian possessions in Italy a principality for her son Don Philip.

Thus by 1740 Charles VI had secured the guarantee he desired from all the Powers of Europe except Russia and the Palatinate. But in order to promote his daughter's interests he had ceded parts of the Empire, raised the Austrian trade in the Netherlands and made little effort to effect the internal reforms which Austria badly needed.

III. The Death of Charles VI, 1740.

Frederick William I of Prussia died on May 31st, 1740, and Charles VI on October 20th. The former was succeeded by his son Frederick II (the Great), the latter by his daughter Maria Theresa, who was proclaimed Archduchess of Austria, Queen of Hungary and Queen of Bohemia.

The accession of a woman to the Austrian dominions and the internal problems of Austria, which were sufficiently serious to engage the ruler's full attention, led to a European scramble for her dominions. Her chief ministers, Zinzendorf, the Chancellor, and Starbomberg, the Financial Minister, were too old to cope with the crisis that arose; but Bartenstein, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, was younger and devoted to his mistress.

Great Britain, Holland, Pope Benedict XIV, Venice and Saxony at once acknowledged Maria Theresa. The Elector of Bavaria, her most serious rival, was not strong enough to maintain his claim alone; the war between Spain and England² hampered any designs Elizabeth Farnese had on Italy, and Sardinia was not likely to attack the Milanese alone. The death of the Empress Anna of Russia on October 17th, 1740, deprived Maria Theresa of a friendly ally; the accession of the youthful Ivan VI made

² Page 208.

Russian intervention unlikely, and although Winck, the powerful Premier-Minister, was well disposed towards Frederick II, the danger of an attack from Sweden prevented him from actively supporting Prussia.

There was more danger from France, which was tending to closer alliance with Spain, and in which a war party under Belle-isle resented Henry's pacific policy and saw in the alliance between Bavaria and France good ground for the revival of the traditional policy of active hostility against the Hapsburgs, although it did not for the moment favour the conclusion of an alliance with France which Frederick II offered. Henry supported the Imperial candidature of Charles of Bavaria, which was not contrary to the Pragmatic Sanction, but decided to see how events progressed before recognising Maria Theresa.

Frederick II caused the outbreak of war.

References:

Cambridge Modern History, Vol. VI, chap. viii, Section I.
History of France (Kitchin), Vol. III, pp. 404-408.

THE FIRST SILESIAN WAR, DECEMBER 16TH, 1740—JULY 28TH, 1742.

I. Frederick invaded Silesia.

A. The invasion.

Frederick had resolved to offer Maria Theresa to give up Berg and Ravensstein, to support her accession and the candidature of her husband Francis of Tuscany for the Empire if she would give him Silesia. He unjustifiably claimed Silesia as belonging to Brandenburg, but his action was based solely "on pure political expediency." He was anxious to extend his dominions and protect Brandenburg from attack from the South by securing a province which commanded the Valley of

the Oder and which he called "our safeguard and outwork." Hearing of the death of the Empress Anne, which relieved him of the danger of a Russian attack on his eastern border, he on December 16th, 1740, without any notice, invaded Silesia.

B. Criticism.

Frederick's action was unjustifiable, and Ostermann¹ declared that the invasion of Silesia was "an ugly business." Prussia and Austria had been allies for years; Prussia had guaranteed the Pragmatic Sanction; the Prussian claims on Silesia were indefensible; neither the treaty of Charles VI in relation to Berg and Ravensstein nor the possibility that Saxony might have seized Silesia excuses the invasion.

Frederick now offered to Maria Theresa the terms given above and may have hoped to return to the policy of William III and to form a union of Great Britain, Holland, Prussia, Russia and Austria to limit the power of the Bourbons. Maria Theresa, who never forgave Frederick for the invasion, refused to negotiate until he completely evacuated Silesia. She thought, wrongly, that France, which had begun to pay subsidies to Charles of Bavaria in November, 1740, would support her and refused Walpole's advice to accept Frederick's terms.

C. Molwitz, 1741.

Frederick rapidly conquered most of Silesia, including Breslau; but Britain seemed likely to join Austria against him, and the fall of his partisan Mählich in March, 1741, increased the danger of a Russian attack. But France showed friendship and Belle-Isle was sent to negotiate an alliance.

(1) The battle.

April 10th, 1741. At Molwitz the Prussian infantry won a great victory over the Austrians under Neipperg.

¹ Page 176.

in spite of the failure of the country under Frederick. The battle was one of the first instances of infantry defeating cavalry; it showed the value of the musket and bayonet as against the lance and sword, and established the reputation of the Prussian infantry.

(2) Results.

a. French diplomacy.

The victory confirmed Frederick in the possession of Lower Silesia and led to important political developments. France now definitely turned against Austria, made on May 15th, 1741, the Treaty of Nymphenburg with Charles of Bavaria, and undertook to support the Elector's claim to the Empire and Hapsburg territories. In the same month France and Spain made an agreement to break up the Austrian dominions.

June 5th, 1741. France and Prussia made a treaty. France recognised Frederick's possession of Silesia and promised to stir up Sweden against Russia, thus diminishing the danger of a Russian attack on Prussia; Frederick gave up his claim to Berg and Jülich in favour of the Elector Palatine and promised to support Charles of Bavaria's candidature for the Empire. The Treaty of Breslau.

July, 1741. Augustus of Saxony made an alliance with France on condition of receiving Moravia.

b. British diplomacy.

George II was anxious to ensure the safety of Hanover and, as Elector of Hanover, did not object to the election of Charles of Bavaria as Emperor. Britain was the traditional ally of Austria; but friendly with France for the

colonies had begun, and her commercial interests seemed to require an alliance with Austria against France and Spain; instead of the Bourbons was the main motive of the English people. There was a strong sentimental feeling in England in favour of Maria Theresa. But Walpole hated war and was unwilling to go to war with Prussia, a Protestant country, on behalf of Austria, which was strongly Roman Catholic. But on Maria Theresa's refusal to make peace with Frederick II, George II made a treaty with Maria Theresa in June, 1741, promising to help her.

Thus, although France professed to be acting merely in defence of Bavaria and had not actually declared war on Austria, her diplomacy had made the war European.

II. The Treaty of Klein-Schnellendorf, 1741.

A. Russia.

August 4th, 1741. Sweden, in agreement with France, declared war on Russia, which was therefore unable to carry out its intention to send 20,000 men to help Maria Theresa in accordance with the Treaty of 1738.

B. The invasion of Austria.

August 12th, 1741. A French army, wearing the Bavarian colours, crossed the Rhine and united with their allies the Bavarians; the combined army took Linz on September 10th and came within three days' march of Vienna. On September 15th, Saxony joined France, partly owing to the victory of Frederick at Mollwitz, partly owing to the skilful diplomacy of Belle-Isle and the success of the French and Bavarians at Linz. The fall of Vienna seemed imminent.

C. Hanover.

In order to save Hanover, threatened by a French army under M^{de}Belisle in Westphalia, George II on September 26, 1791, made a treaty with France by which Hanover was to remain neutral, and George, as Elector of Hanover, promised to support Charles of Feraud's candidature for the Empire.

D. Hungary.

Maria Theresa, in great peril, turned to the Hungarians and allowed them to arm themselves. They shouted "*inocentiam pro rege nostro Maria Theresia*,"¹ enthusiastically supported her cause, deemed an "*insurrection*," or *levy en masse*, and saved German Austria.

E. The Treaty of Klein-Schnellendorf, 1791.

(1) Austrian offer to France.

Maria Theresa in despair turned to France and offered to cede Luxembourg to France, the Netherlands to Bavaria and part of Italy to Spain if she could recover Silesia from Frederick and secure the Empire for her son Louis Philippe. Belle-Isle, determined to humiliate Austria, refused the offer.

(2) The Treaty.

Frederick II was now in Silesia, and a battle between him and Napoleon, commanding the only Austrian army, seemed imminent. Frederick distrusted France and resented her interference in Germany; he was angry, too, because Belle-Isle did not push on to Vienna, the fall of which would have ended the war and secured Silesia for Prussia. Frederick therefore, with the strong approval of Britain, agreed on October 6th, 1791, to the Treaty of Klein-Schnellendorf, by which he undertook to desert his former ally, while Maria Theresa surrendered to him Lower Silesia and the town of Netze.

¹ The accuracy of the famous story is doubtful.

(B) Criticism.

Maria Theresa thus secured Silesia's army for the defence of Austria : Frederick, by breaking faith with France and making with Austria a promise he had no intention of keeping, secured a much-needed rift for his army and made an important addition to his territory.

III. To the Treaty of Berlin, 1742.

A. The Bavarian invasion of Bohemia, 1741.

Charles of Bavaria distracted Frederick II and, finding that Silesia was threatening his line of communications, gave up the idea of attacking Vienna, marched into Bohemia, where, with the help of the French and Saxons, he captured Prague on November 22nd, 1741.

B. Frederick invades Moravia, 1741-1742.

Frederick, on November 1st, 1741, with a cynical disregard for the Treaty of Klein-Schnellendorf, had agreed with Saxony and Bavaria to divide Maria Theresa's territories; he was to receive Silesia with the town of Glatz, which Charles of Bavaria ceded; Bavaria was to get Bohemia, and Saxony Moravia.

Frederick, profiting by the fall of Prague, invaded Moravia and took Olmütz on December 27th, 1741. But the French and Saxons, who justly suspected Frederick's honesty, gave him less help than he anticipated: the Hungarian cavalry and the Moravian peasants greatly hampered him, and in April, 1742, he evacuated Moravia, which was immediately occupied by the Austrians.

C. The Hungarians invade Bavaria, 1742.

The Hungarians, strengthened by troops recalled by Maria Theresa from Italy and led by Khevenhüller, re-captured Linz in Upper Austria, on January 26th, 1742.

outed the Bavarians at Scharding, invaded Bavaria and took Munich on February 19th, 1742.

[On February 12th, 1742, Charles of Bavaria was crowned Emperor Charles VII.]

B. The Treaty of Berlin.

(1) Great Britain.

The treaty George II had made for the neutrality of Hanover and the news that he intended to support the French candidate for the Empire led to the fall of Walpole in February, 1742. His successor Carteret, a strong supporter of Maria Theresa, was determined to break the power of France, and to effect this purpose sent a British army to hold the Netherlands against France and tried to reconcile Austria and Prussia.

(2) Sardinia.

Maria's cause had been helped by an alliance with Charles Emmanuel of Sardinia, who feared the growth of Spanish power in Italy, captured Medusa, in July, 1742, and Mirandola, and was greatly helped by the British fleet under Mathews, which, by a threat of bombarding Naples, compelled Don Carlos to withdraw his troops from Lombardy.

(3) Prussia.

Frederick II, valuing the great value to Austria of the active help of Britain, was willing to make peace, but refused Maria Theresa's offer of Upper and Lower Silesia on condition that he would fight against France and Bavaria.

The Austrians, under Charles of Lorraine, invaded Bohemia and took Pilsen from the French, under Broglie.

Frederick feared that if the Austrians captured Prague, Maria Theresa would be strong enough to recover Silesia. He routed Charles of Lorraine at

Chotusitz, or Chaslau, on May 15th, 1742.

Owing to this defeat and to strong pressure from Carteret, Maria Theresa came to terms with Frederick, who was in financial difficulties and knew that Florry was negotiating with Vienna and had agreed that Sweden should receive part of Pomerania. By the Preliminaries of Breslau, in June, 1742, and the Treaty of Berlin, July 28th, Maria Theresa ceded to Frederick Lower and Upper Silesia and Glatz. Augustus of Saxony made peace with Austria in September; he had ruined his army and finances and gained nothing.

Thus, owing mainly to Carteret's intervention, the scope of the war had been enlarged. The object was no longer to defend the Austrian territories, but to expel the French from Germany and to secure for Maria Theresa compensation for the loss of Silesia.

References:

- The Balance of Power* (Hansard), Birmingham, chap. vi.
- Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. VI, pp. 325-333.
- Heroes of the Nations* (Frederick the Great) (Reddaway), Putnam, chap. iv.

THE NEUTRALITY OF PRUSSIA

Maria Theresa, relieved of the danger from France, determined to annex part of Bavaria, ceding to the Emperor Charles VII the Netherlands and part of Northern France. Her immediate object was to destroy Broglie's French army in Bohemia.

I. Bohemia and Bavaria.

A. The French driven out of Bohemia, 1742.

The Austrians drove Broglie into Prague and besieged the city in June. Mollathau brought his army from Warthalia, but failed to raise the siege. In December Belle-Isle, left in command of Prague by Broglie's

departure, by a brilliant march led 14,000 French troops to Eger, losing 2000 owing to bitter cold and the attacks of the Hungarian cavalry.

December 25th. Corvini surrendered Prague to the Austrians, who overran Bohemia, although Eger held out until August, 1743.

B. Bavaria.

Freight now entered Bavaria and joined the Emperor Charles VII, who had taken Munich in October, 1742, and recovered the greater part of Bavaria. But Charles at Luzzara defeated the Bavarians at Stubbach, and the Austrians took Munich on June 26, 1743. The Emperor, who fled to Frankfurt, was compelled in the same month to agree to the Convention of Feherschildfeld, which left most of Bavaria in Austrian hands and neutralized the Bavarian army.

Maria Theresa had been crowned in Prague in April, and entered Vienna in triumph. Elated by success, she now resolved to wrest Alsace and Lorraine from France and to replace the Emperor Charles VII by her own husband Francis.

(C. Death of Fleury.

January 29th, 1743. Fleury died at the age of eighty-nine.

(1) Domestic policy.

Fleury's opposition to war had given France a rest which she badly needed and promoted material prosperity. Under his laissez-faire policy commerce grew, the colonies prospered, the towns, and especially Paris, became more wealthy. His economical administration, the reduction of the tolls and the stabilizing of the coinage somewhat improved the condition of the peasants, but he failed to establish the finances on a sound footing, and his introduction of the *caisses* inflicted great hardship on the lower classes.

(2) Foreign policy.

He tried to preserve peace and not only averted war with Great Britain, but for a time succeeded in forming a union between Great Britain, France and Spain: the Treaty of Seville, the establishment of French influence in Lorraine, leading to its ultimate acquisition by France, and the Treaty of Belgrade were his most successful achievements. He incurred the opposition of the war party owing to his support of the British alliance and his refusal to adopt the old policy of unmitigated hostility towards the Hapsburgs. "More touchings of office than principles, he ought to have resisted royal pressure in the Polish War and popular clamour in the Austrian."¹ He maintained the prestige of France in Europe, but utterly failed to appreciate the importance of the French colonies; his gravest fault, which was soon to have fatal consequences, was his failure to maintain the French navy.]

II. Dettingen, 1743.

The British and Hanoverians in the Netherlands, reinforced by Austrians, formed the Pragmatic Army under Lord Stair, who resolved to capture the Emperor at Frankfurt and to attack the French army under Douglas which remained in Bavaria. After some delay, due to doubts as to the attitude of Holland, Stair, further reinforced by 20,000 Dutch sent by the Orange party, who had gained the supremacy and were hereditary enemies of France, advanced to the Main. George II took command of the Pragmatic Army and defeated Neaulme at Dettingen on June 26th, 1743, owing to the foolish tactics of the French. George neglected to follow up his victory, which proved of little value to his side, and fell back to Hanover.

The Allies now resolved to invade France, the Prag-

¹ *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. VI, page 181.

main Army from the North, Charles of Lorraine from Alsace. Their attempts were foiled by Coigny and Mordaunt.

Thus, although the French had been driven out of Germany, the Austrians and their allies failed to invade France.

III. The Project of Rastatt, 1743.

Carleton tried to reconcile Maria Theresa and Charles VII in order to unite the Empire against France. He suggested that Austria and Bavaria should restore conquered territory, that Maria Theresa should recognise Charles as Emperor, that Charles should renounce his friendship with France in return for subsidies from Great Britain.

This arrangement would have made George II, as Elector of Hanover, one of the leading princes in Germany, have checked the predominance of Austria and seriously endangered France. But it would have injured the true interests of Britain, which required active opposition to France in the colonies rather than on the Continent.

The Project failed because Charles refused to act against France and Maria Theresa to give up Bavaria without compensation for the loss of Silesia.

IV. The Treaty of Worms, September, 1743.

The Spanish general Gages again attacked Lombardy, but was routed at Campo Santo by the Austrians under Traun. But Charles Emmanuel, disappointed because he had received no territorial concessions from Maria Theresa, refused active co-operation and opened negotiations with France and Spain. Owing to strong pressure from Great Britain, Maria Theresa reluctantly made with Charles Emmanuel the Treaty of Worms on September 19th, 1743, by which, in return for his help in

securing Austrian territory in Lombardy and expelling the Bourbons from Italy, and "in order that she might set more vigorously in Germany," she ceded to him Parma, Piacenza, part of the Milanese and the right of buying Finale from the Genoese, to whom Charles VIII had sold it in 1714. Britain agreed to keep a strong fleet in the Mediterranean and to pay Charles Emmanuel an annual subsidy of £300,000 during the war.

September, 1743. France declared war on Sardinia.

V. The Treaty of Fontenoybleau, October, 1743.

Maria Theresa was now free to carry out her designs in Lorraine and the Netherlands; Elizabeth Farnese was furious at the cession to Sardinia of Italian territory which she hoped to secure for Don Philip; the French were tired of the war in Germany, but strongly resented Maria Theresa's designs on French territory; the old hatred of Great Britain was revived.

France and Spain, which had not been closely united during Fleury's administration, met the Treaty of Worms by the Treaty of Fontenoybleau, October 18th, 1743, the "Second Family Compact."² The two countries formed a permanent alliance. Louis XV undertook to join Spain in war on Sardinia in order to secure the Milanese, Parma and Piacenza for Don Philip and to deprive Sardinia of the territory she had gained by the Peace of Utrecht; to help Spain to recover Gibraltar and Minorca from Great Britain, which was to be deprived of the Azores.

VI. France Declares War on Great Britain and Austria, 1744.

March 15th, 1744. France formally declared war on Great Britain, although the two countries had been fighting for some time; they had fought at Dettingen; in February, 1744 an unsuccessful attempt had been made by the French fleet to attack England on behalf of the Pretender, and a drawn battle had been fought off Toulon.

¹ The First was made in 1713 (page 37), the Third in 1763 (page 123).

April 19th, 1744. France formally declared war on Austria.

Thus Europe was again divided into two groups; Great Britain headed one and France the other; the Pragmatic Sanction was no longer the only issue; the colonial struggle in America and India and naval supremacy were equally important questions. "France stood both as the rival of Austria on the Continent and of Britain on the sea and in the colonies."¹

A. The Netherlands, 1744

Klauser de Saxe² easily overran Western Flanders; the British under Wade proved inefficient; the Dutch were slow in sending help, and Saxe soon captured Courtrai, Menin, Ypres and others of the Barrier Fortresses. But he was compelled to send a large force to resist the Austrians in Alsace, and therefore was unable to do more than hold his conquests.

B. Alsace, 1744

Charles of Lorraine now invaded Alsace and drove a French and Bavarian force back to Strasbourg. Louis XV took the field in person.³

The invasion of Bohemia by Frederick II led to the recall of Charles of Lorraine and marks the beginning of the Second Silesian War.

[For references, see page 86.]

THE SECOND SILESIAN WAR, AUGUST, 1744—DECEMBER 25TH, 1745.

I. Causes.

A. Frederick's fear of Austria.

The success of Austria in 1743 and the Treaty of Worms alarmed Frederick II. That Treaty had guaranteed the Austrian dominions, and the guarantee had

¹ Hassell.

² Son of Augustus II of Poland and Augustus von Klobukowitz.

³ His recovery from serious illness at Worms in August led to great rejoicing and gained for him the nickname of *Rhin-Lion*.

been repeated in the Treaty of Vienna concluded in December, 1763, between Austria and Saxony. Frederick feared that Maria Theresa would take advantage of her greatly improved position to regain Silesia and Transilvania Prussia.

He objected to the Austrian occupation of Bavaria because he was an adherent of Charles VII, because the addition of Bavaria would make Austria too strong and because the seizure of Bavaria challenged the rights of the German princes.

B. The Union of Frankfurt, May, 1764.

Frederick had encouraged Charles VII to continue his resistance to Maria Theresa and had tried to stir up Russia and Turkey against Austria. He now formed on May 22nd, 1764, with Charles VII, the Elector Palatine and the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, the Union of Frankfurt, which aimed at restoring the constitution of the Empire, securing the recognition of Charles VII as Emperor and the restoration of Bavaria to him. A secret treaty between Frederick and the Emperor arranged that the former should get Silesia and the adjacent Bohemian Cheek, while the rest of Bohemia and Upper Austria should go to the Emperor. France agreed to both treaties.

But Frederick, who obtained less support than he hoped from Germany, made on June 8th, 1764, an agreement with France. Louis XV undertook to invade the Netherlands and Hanover and to pursue Charles of Lorraine if he returned from Alsace to oppose Frederick. Frederick undertook to invade Bohemia.

C. Frederick II Invades Bohemia, 1764.

Frederick invaded Bohemia in August, 1764, and took Prague on September 16th. He then invaded Austria and proposed to attack Vienna. But Augustus of Saxony sent 20,000 men to help the Austrians; Charles of Lorraine returned from Alsace, but the French did not keep

their promise to follow him up; the troops of Bavaria, Hesse and the Palatinate under Seckendorf were more anxious to recover Bavaria than to help Frederick, who was compelled to evacuate Prague and retire into Silesia.

Frederick's invasion had helped the French by drawing Charles of Lorraine from Alsace; enabled Charles VII to recover Bavaria and retake Munich on October 18th; shrew to Frederick the worthlessness of French promises and provoked an Austrian invasion of Silesia which was repulsed in January, 1743, by Leopold of Deum; assisted Sax to retain his conquests in the Netherlands. It led also to the Treaty of Warsaw made on January 28th, 1743, between Great Britain, Holland, Austria and Augustus III, King of Poland and Elector of Saxony. By this the Pragmatic Sanction was guaranteed; Saxony which was to receive Schweidnitz, promised to help Austria in Bohemia and to support the candidature of Francis, Maria Theresa's husband, for the Empire; Great Britain and Holland were to provide subsidies.

III. Diplomacy in 1743.

A. The Treaty of Füssen, 1743.

January 30th, 1743. Charles VII died. His death broke up the Union of Frankfurt and deprived France of a useful ally. His son Maximilian II was only eighteen; there was no prospect of his succeeding to the Empire, and after Buthyari had defeated the French and Bavarians and again secured Bavaria for the Austrians, Maximilian made the Treaty of Füssen with the Austrians on April 22nd, 1743. By this he recovered his Electorate of Bavaria, renounced all claims as the Hapsburg possessor and promised to vote for Maria Theresa's husband Francis of Lorraine as the next Emperor and to take no further part in the war.

B. Treaty of Warsaw.

Austria and Saxony ratified the Treaty of Warsaw in May, 1743, and agreed to partition Prussia and reduce her to the boundaries of the old Mark of Brandenburg.

C. Frederick's danger.

The Electors of Cologne and Mainz had accepted British subsidies; Russia now withdrew her promise to guarantee the Treaty of Berlin; Maria Theresa refused to consider the suggestion made by Great Britain for a general peace and Frederick "was left to his own resources and to the valour of his soldiers."

IV. The War from June to December, 1745.

A. The Austrians invade Silesia.

(1) Hohenfriedberg.

May, 1745. The Austrians under Charles of Lorraine, strengthened by 30,000 Saxons, invaded Silesia, but were defeated by Frederick on June 4th, 1745, at Hohenfriedberg, where the Prussian cavalry proved very successful.

(2) Sohr.

Frederick invaded Bohemia, but was compelled to retire into Silesia after defeating a much larger force of Austrians at Sohr on September 30th.

B. The Netherlands.

(1) Fontenoy.

May 11th, 1745. Saxe besieged Tournay and defeated at Fontenoy the Pragmatic Army under Cumberland and Königsegg, who lost the battle owing to the inefficiency of their Dutch allies.

Owing to Saxe's victory Lifvendahl took Tournay on May 23rd and Ghent on July 15th.

(2) Effects of the Forty Five.

The rising of the Forty Five in July compelled Cumberland and the British troops to return to England, and the French captured Bruges, Oudenarde, Dendermonde and Ostend, which was the English base.

C. Italy (page 87).

D. The Convention of Hanover, 1745.

The Austrians were holding Bohemia or posted on the Rhine to check the French army under Cuvilly, and to sustain the cause of Francis at the impending Imperial election.

George II, fearing that Saxe's success might endanger Hanover and anxious to weaken France, wished to secure further Austrian help in the Netherlands; Frederick II was in financial difficulties, feared that Maria Theresa might induce Russia to support her against France, objected to the operations in the Netherlands and was anxious for more vigorous efforts in Germany which would strengthen his hold on Silesia.

August 26th, 1745. By the Convention of Hanover Frederick was to be assured of Silesia, to support the election of Francis as Emperor, to assist Hanover if necessary. George II undertook to try to induce Maria Theresa to make peace with Frederick II within six weeks.

Maria Theresa strongly resented the action of Great Britain, was firmly resolved to regain Silesia, secured the election of her husband the Archduke Francis as Emperor on September 19th. She now made overtures to France and offered to give up the Netherlands if France would acknowledge the Emperor Francis and make peace. D'Argenson refused to break the French alliance with Prussia, hotly rejected Maria Theresa's offer and tried to induce Charles Emmanuel of Savoy to change sides.

The Franco-Prussian alliance continued.

E. The Treaty of Dresden, December, 1745.

(1) Frederick invades Saxony.

After Hubertshourg, Frederick tried, unsuccessfully, to win over Augustus of Saxony. Russia had

warned Frederick that she would not tolerate an invasion of Saxony; but Frederick, learning that Maria Theresa and Augustus intended to invade Brandenburg, himself invaded Saxony.

November 30th, 1745. Frederick II defeated Charles of Lorraine, who was marching against Brandenburg, at Gross Hennersdorf in Lusatia.

December 16th, 1745. Leopold of Dessau, "the old Dessauer," who had taken Leipzig, defeated the Austrians and Saxons at Kesselsdorf.

December 18th, 1745. Frederick II entered Dresden.

Owing to the success of Frederick and to the defeat of the Austrians in Italy,¹ Maria Theresa was forced to come to terms with Frederick II.

(5) The Treaty of Dresden, December 18th, 1745.

a. Terms.

Prussia now made treaties with Saxony and Austria. Frederick II restored Saxony to Augustus, whose wife,² the daughter of Joseph I, renounced any claim to the territories ceded to Prussia by the Treaty of Berlin.³ Augustus paid an indemnity of a million dollars to Frederick. Maria Theresa, realising the need of strengthening the Austrian forces in Italy, renounced Silesia and Glatz; Frederick II recognised the election of the Emperor Francis I, against which he had previously protested.

b. Criticism.

(1) Prussia.

Frederick had saved Prussia and kept Silesia, but failed to gain further territory. The position of Prussia was greatly improved; "the Empire had been regained by the Hapsburgs, but its authority over Prussia was weakened";⁴

¹ Page 57.

² *Genealogical Tree*, page 44.

³ Page 75.

from this time Prussia is not so much a state of Germany as an independent European power. Frederick now secured for Prussia a "decade" of growth and repose which enabled him to come successfully through the Seven Years' War.

(i) France.

France lost prestige. Frederick had treacherously deserted her; the loss of Bavaria, the Convention of Hanover and the election of Francis I, the failure of the Party Five and the Treaties of Berlin had been serious blows to the policy of Louis XV.

(ii) Austria.

Austria had lost Silesia and Glina, but maintained her supremacy over Bavaria, secured the Empire and been left free for more extensive operations in Italy.

George II had saved Hanover and detached Frederick II from France, which was the great rival of Austria.

References:

The Balance of Power (Hansell), Livingston, chap. vii.

Cambridge Modern History, Vol. VI, chap. vii.

Seven of the Nations (Frederick the Great) (Baldewey), Putnam, chap. v.

Elizabeth Forester (Armstrong), chap. XL.

THE WAR IN EUROPE FROM THE TREATIES OF BERLIN TO THE PEACE OF AIX-LA-CHAPELLE, 1745-1748

The withdrawal of Prussia limited the area of the war in Europe. France could secure success only in Italy and the Netherlands. In Italy the desire of Charles Emmanuel to add new territory to Savoy, of Maria Theresa to maintain her hold on the Austrian

possessions, of Elizabeth Farnese to strengthen the Spanish power, were important factors. Maria Theresa left the defence of the Netherlands largely to the Maritime Nations; Great Britain would be endangered if France secured the coast-line; the establishment of the French in the Netherlands threatened the security of Holland, and possibly Hanover.

I. Italy from 1744-1748.

Operations* in 1744 had not been decisive. The Austrians and Sardinians under Lobkowitz had driven the Spaniards southwards to the borders of Naples, but a Franco-Spanish attack on Piedmont had led to the return of the Sardinian troops to defend it, and in consequence Lobkowitz was too weak to invade Naples and retired for the winter to Lower Lombardy.

A. Austrian Operations in 1745.

The Spaniards, allied with France by the Treaty of Fontainebleau and supported by Genoa, which rejected the Treaty of Worms by which France was to be allied to Sardinia, made a great effort in 1745 to conquer Northern Italy. The alliance of Genoa gave the Bourbons control of the Riviera coast; the Spaniards under Don Philip and the French under Mollatou, who had attacked Piedmont, were joined near Genoa by a Spanish-Sardinian army under Gages and by the Genoese.

The Duke of Modena marched against the Milanese, took Piacenza (August 30, 1745), Parma and Modena and threatened the Austrian communications with the Tyrol. The Austrians under Schulenberg therefore left Charles Emmanuel to defend Lombardy and moved eastward to defend the Milanese.

September 27th, 1745. The Sardinians under Charles Emmanuel were routed by Gages at Bassano.

Differences arose between the French, anxious to complete the conquest of Piedmont, and Gages, who wished to conquer Lombardy. Charles Emmanuel kept the

Austrians for the delivery of Piedmont by a threat that if they failed him again he would make peace with France.

Millicolo took Alessandria on October 15th, 1745. Gages took Asti and Cuneo in November, and on December 16th entered Milan.

The successes of her enemies in Italy compelled Maria Theresa to agree to the Treaty of Dresden¹ with Frederick II.

B. Austrian successes in 1746.

(1) D'Argenson's Italian scheme.

Charles Emmanuel, realising that his defeat was partly due to the fact that Maria Theresa was prevented by war with France and her desire to defend the Milanese from sending him adequate help, now entered into negotiations with D'Argenson, who aimed at the maintenance of peace with France, opposition to Austria and Great Britain and the termination of the close union between France and Spain recently made by the Treaty of Fontenoy. D'Argenson proposed that Sardinia and France should form an alliance, that the Hapsburgs should be expelled from Italy, that an Italian confederation should be formed of princes who possessed no territory outside Italy and that Sardinia, which was to receive much of the Milanese, was to be the leading state of the confederation.

(2) Criticism.

The scheme was premature, for there was no real demand for national independence in Italy, and if there had been Sardinia was not strong enough to satisfy it. The destruction of the Austrian power would leave Sardinia exposed to danger from King Charles of Naples (Don Carlos) and Don Philip, who might court upon Spanish and possibly French sup-

port; the danger from France would be increased since Charles Emmanuel would no longer be able to secure any support from Austria.

Elisabeth Farnese objected to a scheme which made inadequate provision for Don Philip, and was so angry that Spain had not been consulted that she opened negotiations with Austria. Charles Emmanuel, desiring of assistance from Austria, signed a preliminary Treaty of Turin with France on December 25th, 1745.

C. Operations in 1746-7.

(1) The expulsion of the French from Italy.

The treaty of Dresden saved Charles Emmanuel; Maria Theresa sent 20,000 Austrian troops to Italy, and by prolonging his negotiations with D'Arqueson Charles Emmanuel secured a suspension of arms until the end of February, thus gaining security until the Austrians arrived.

On the approach of the Austrians under Liechtenstein, Charles Emmanuel suddenly broke off his negotiations with D'Arqueson, seized Asti on March 5th, 1746, and raised the siege of Alexandria. The Spaniards evacuated Milan (on March 18th) and Parma.

June 15th, 1746. Charles Emmanuel and Liechtenstein defeated Maillebois and Gages at Piacenza. By a skilful march Maillebois, accompanied by Gages' incompetent successor Las Hinas, withdrew his army to France and the Austrians took Genoa on September 6th, while Charles Emmanuel secured Finale and Savona.

(2) The invasion of Provence.

Philip V of Spain died on July 9th, 1746. His successor, Ferdinand VI, had no sympathy with the Italian scheme of his stepmother Elisabeth Farnese, and withdrew the Spanish troops from the North of

Italy. The Austrians wished to drive the Spaniards out of Naples and Sicily, but Charles Emmanuel, who was on bad terms with Botta, who had succeeded Liechtenstein, refused to agree, as he did not wish the Austrians to become too powerful in Italy. The British, anxious to counterbalance Saxe's victories in the Netherlands, insisted on an invasion of Provence and an attack on Toulon, a danger to their Mediterranean fleet.

Charles Emmanuel and the Austrians invaded Provence and besieged Antibes, but a rising in December, 1743, of the Genoese, provoked by the cruelty of Botta's soldiers, continued quarrels between the Austrians and Sardinians, and the skilful strategy of Belle-Isle, the French general, compelled them to evacuate Provence in February, 1743.

D. The end of the War in Italy.

The Austrians and Sardinians, assisted by a British squadron, now besieged Genoa. Belle-Isle, to help Genoa, invaded Piedmont and drove off the Sardinians from the siege. He was routed at Exiles on July 15th, 1743, and withdrew to France, but Genoa succeeded in holding out against the Austrians, who continued the siege, until peace was made in 1748.

II. The Netherlands.

A. The capture of Brussels.

Saxe, profiting by the absence of Cumberland and the British, took Brussels on February 20th, 1743. Holland was very anxious to make peace with France, but D'Argenson, preoccupied with his Italian scheme and anxious to arrange a general peace with Austria and Great Britain, refused to entertain her offer, partly because the prospects of the opponents of France had been improved by the defeat of the Young Pretender at Culloden on April 16th and of Maillebois at Fiacenza on June 15th, 1744.

B. The Conquest of the Austrian Netherlands.

Saxe now wished to invade Holland, but was ordered to reduce the Eastern Netherlands.

The French took Antwerp on June 3d, Mons and Charleroi.

Marie Thérèse now sent Charles of Lorraine, who had already shown his incapacity, to oppose Saxe; he was helped by British troops, but an English diversion against L'Orfèvre, proved a failure.

Saxe took Namur on September 21st, 1746, defeated a force of British, Austrians and Dutch under Charles of Lorraine at Rocourt on October 11th, 1746. By the end of the year he had conquered all the Austrian Netherlands except Limburg and Luxemburg.

[To prevent the Elector of Saxony from selling troops to Great Britain, France purchased his neutrality for two millions francs a year, and the Dauphin married the daughter of Augustus III on January 14th, 1747.]

1. The end of the war.

Cumberland was put at the head of an allied army of 70,000 men. He failed to retake Antwerp, and Saxe's Lieutenant Löwendahl entered Dutch Flanders and took Sluys. This attack on Dutch territory led to a revolution in Holland, and William IV of Orange was appointed Stadtholder in May, 1747.

Saxe threatened Maastricht; Cumberland advanced to save it, but, owing to the weakness of his Dutch forces, was defeated by Saxe after a stubborn battle at Louvain on July 2nd, 1747. Maastricht held out, but Löwendahl took Bergen-op-Zoom on July 14th and secured Dutch Brabant, which was weakly defended by the Dutch garrison.

[For references, see page 86.]

THE COLONIAL AND MARITIME WAR

The Peace of Utrecht, "more like an informal truce than a treaty of peace,"¹ was ultimately to lead to war in America. But during the early part of the eighteenth century the differences that arose between France and Spain prevented a union of both against Great Britain; the Regent Orleans desired to secure his own succession if the young King died and was anxious to secure British support; Fleury's policy was pacific; British statesmen wished to avoid any quarrel with France, who could support a Jacobite invasion at any time. The colonial history of both countries was for years to be commercial rather than political. The position was changed when Louis XV declared war on Great Britain in March, 1744.

For Great Britain the War of the Austrian Succession was an important episode in the development of her colonial empire and the growth of her naval power.

I. India.

A. The break-up of the Mogul Empire.

After the death of Aurangzeb in 1707 the Mogul Empire rapidly declined; former viceroys made themselves independent rulers in Oudh, Bengal and Hyderabad; the Sikhs secured the Upper Indus, the Rajputs the Lower; the old Kingdom of Mysore was restored; the Maratta Confederacy, the most powerful of the new states, was established in Central India and by about 1740 "was impinging on all the British chief settlements in India."²

B. French and British settlements.

(1) The French.

Lau's operations had stimulated commerce, and Dupleix's East India Company, which was reconstituted after Lau's fall, rapidly extended its operations

¹ *See, The Growth of the Empire*, page 83.

² *Cambridge Modern History*.

in India. The chief French settlement was the Presidency of Pondicherry with its dependency of Chandernagore; the French held also Surat and Moulpattan and an important naval base in the Mauritius.

The French East India Company was strictly controlled by the Government: it made no real profits and was maintained by Government subsidies.

(2) *The British.*

The British East India Company was a corporation of London merchants who, in return for large loans to the British Government, had practically secured exemption from political control. The British possessed the three Presidencies of Bombay, Madras and Calcutta; their strategic position was better, they had a greater volume of trade and were far more wealthy than their rivals. The superiority of the British fleet was an important factor.

C. *Dupleix.*

(1) *General policy.*

The French hoped to take advantage of the break-up of the Mogul Empire to put the finances of their East India Company on a satisfactory footing. Dupleix, who was Governor of Chandernagore from 1730-1741, greatly increased the trade of the Company, but on becoming Governor of Pondicherry in 1741 determined to combine with native rulers against the British; his aims were political and not merely commercial. He fortified Pondicherry and established friendly relations with the Nawab of the Carnatic, who in 1745 refused to allow a British fleet to bombard Pondicherry.

(2) *Dupleix and La Bourdonnais.*

La Bourdonnais, the Governor of the Mauritius, equipped a fleet and on September 22nd, 1745, captured Madras, which he agreed to restore to the

British for 240,000. Duplex claimed Madras, cancelled Labouderie's agreement and defeated the Nawab of the Carnatic, who claimed the town as a part of his territory. Labouderie returned to France, where he was sent to the Bastille, leaving twelve hundred troops in India. Duplex now failed to capture Fort St. David, but bravely repulsed an attack of the British fleet on Pondicherry in 1748.

Although Madras was restored to Great Britain by the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, Duplex had shown great ability and strengthened the prestige of France in India.

II. America.

The terms of the Peace of Utrecht had forbidden the French in Canada to interfere with the Five Nations (Iroquois) who were subject to Great Britain; ceded Acadia "with its ancient boundaries" to Britain; given to Great Britain the *Asiento*, or right of supplying 4800 negroes a year for thirty years to Spanish America, and permission to send one merchant ship of 250 tons each year to trade with the Spanish Main.

These conditions were sure to lead to war. Disputes arose as to the "ancient boundaries" of Acadia; the British claimed as Iroquois territory any land that the Five Nations had ever entered; the *Asiento* proved wasteful of human life and unconservative; and the African Company, which took the contract over after the collapse of the South Sea Company, was heavily indebted to the King of Spain; the profitable trade with the Spanish Main led to smuggling, and the harshness with which the Spanish officials tried to suppress it caused great resentment in Great Britain.

A. North America from 1764-1769.

(1) The French.

French explorers reached Colorado in 1766 and the spine of the Rocky Mountains in 1768, and tried to

win over the Indian tribes of the prairies in order to check the advance of the British.

The French colonies of Louisiana and Canada were connected by a line of forts which hampered the westward extension of the British; these included Crown Point on Lake Champlain, built 1701, which commanded the route from New York to the St. Lawrence; Frontenac, guarding Lake Ontario; Niagara, which cut off the English from the Iroquois living beyond the lakes; Chartres, which commanded the Lower Mississippi.

The French government claimed "that lands west of the Alleghenies belonged by right of discovery to the French crown." They built in 1734 a strong naval base at Louisbourg in Cape Breton, which commanded the St. Lawrence, and the Louisbourg privateers did great damage to American merchant shipping.

(C) The British.

The British were weakened by quarrels between the Dutch of Albany, who wished to trade with Canada, and the authorities of New York, who wished to stop any trade with the French; the Acadians refused to take the oath of allegiance to King George and longed for restoration to France; quarrels between colonial Governors and their Assemblies and between different colonies rendered united action impossible against the French.

War was inevitable, but the ultimate issue was doubtful; Great Britain had command of the sea, but Canada had greater military forces. Their dependence upon Great Britain for protection against the French deferred the quarrel between the British colonies and the mother country that arose after the defeat of the French.

(D) The War of Jenkins' Ear.

The War of Jenkins' Ear was provoked by the cruelty with which the right of search, claimed by the Spaniards

to the West Indian, was exercised by the *guano-cannibals*.¹

1289. Vernon captured Porto Bello, the base of the Spanish revenue vessels.

1341. Failure of Wentworth's attack on Carthagen and Santiago.]

C. War from 1744-1748.

Although Great Britain and France were nominally at peace, war had been practically incessant between the two in America, and the British colonists on the New England border had suffered terribly from raids of the Indian allies of France. The formal declaration of war by Louis XV in March, 1744, led to active operations.

1744. Indians and French from Louisbourg invaded Annapolis, but failed to take Annapolis.

June 17th, 1744. A force organised by the Governor of Massachusetts, assisted by the West Indian squadron, captured Louisbourg after a siege of forty-nine days.

May 3rd, 1747. A French fleet taking reinforcements to India and Canada was defeated by Anson off Finis-terre.

October 10th, 1747. A French fleet going to the West Indian was defeated by Hawke off Belle Isle. These victories broke the French naval power, enabled the British to keep Louisbourg and to hold out against Duplex in India.

The exchange of Louisbourg for Madras by the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle caused great disappointment in the New England states.

References :

The Expansion of the British Empire (Woodward), Cambridge University Press, chaps. IV and V.

The Growth of the Empire (Jenks), John Murray, chaps. I-III.

¹ Custom officials.

THE PEACE OF AIX-LA-CHAPELLE

I. The Desire for Peace.

By the beginning of 1763 all parties desired peace.

A. Great Britain.

The British were disappointed at their failure in the Netherlands and anagorated with the Dutch, to whose incapacity these failures were largely due; annoyed because, although the Netherlands were an Austrian possession, the majority of the Austrian forces were fighting in Italy; they saw no chance of advantage from a continuance of the war in the Netherlands, of which Great Britain bore most of the cost. Cumberland asserted "a tolerable peace is absolutely necessary."

B. France.

France was weary of war; her finances were embarrassed, partly owing to the heavy losses inflicted on her mercantile marine by the British navy. Treaties were made by Great Britain, Holland and Russia in November, 1767, and by Great Britain, Maria Theresa, Russia, Prussia and Holland in January, 1768, "to ruin French commerce," and the advance of a Russian army to the Rhine in 1769 made France more eager for peace. Madame de Pompadour, Louis' new mistress, pressed for peace. In 1768 Spain again besieged Maastricht, the capture of which would have facilitated an advance into Holland, and the Dutch in consequence were anxious to make peace to save Maastricht.

C. Spain, Austria and Saxony.

Frederick VI of Spain disapproved of Elizabeth Farnese's aggressive policy and wanted peace, partly owing to the financial exhaustion of Spain.

Maria Theresa, who had obtained a promise of Russian

help, and Charles Emmanuel of Savoy, who wished to keep Finale and Pinerolo, wished to continue the war, but without British subsidies and the British fleet further success in Italy could not be expected.

Austria was beginning to realize that Prussia and not France was her greatest enemy and that her old alliance with the Maritime Powers had therefore lost much of its value.

Owing to the action of Great Britain and Holland the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle was signed on October 18th, 1748, and accepted by Spain, Austria, Genoa, Modena and Savoy by the end of November.

II. Terms.

- (1) Prussia was confirmed in the possession of Silesia and Glatz.
- (2) Don Philip obtained Parma, Piacenza and Guastalla. With these exceptions the Pragmatic Sanction was accepted by all the parties.
- (3) Charles Emmanuel recovered Savoy and Nice and received Upper Nôvara and Vigevano, thus extending his territory in the Milanese to the Ticino.
- (4) Finale was restored to Genoa, and Modena to the Duke.
- (5) Louis XV promised to exclude the Pretender from France, to recognize the Hanoverian Succession and to destroy the fortifications of Dunkirk that faced the sea.
- (6) The French evacuated the Austrian Netherlands and restored the Barrier Portresses to the Dutch.
- (7) Great Britain and France agreed to restore their conquests; Louisbourg was given back to France, Madras to Great Britain.

III. Criticism.

A. Inconclusive and unsatisfactory.

The Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle had some permanent results. It ended the struggle for Italy, between the

Hapsburgs and Bourbons ; it strengthened Prussia by the addition of Silesia ; it finally broke the hopes of the Jacobites. It was an important episode in the history of Sardinia, revealed more clearly the decline of Holland and showed the growing importance of Russia.

But with these exceptions the Peace was little more than the establishment of the *status quo ante bellum*. "Never perhaps did any war, after so many great events and so large a loss of blood and treasure, end in replacing the nations engaged in it so nearly in the same situation as they held at first."¹

The Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle was merely a truce. Nothing was said about the right of search which had caused the War of Jenkins' Ear ; the problem as to the possession of St. Vincent, St. Lucia, Tobago and other West Indian islands was left unsettled ; the disputed boundaries of the British and French possessions in America were not defined ; the struggle between France and Great Britain for naval supremacy was left unsettled ; Maria Theresa requested the cession of Silesia to Prussia and of Parma and Piacenza to Don Philip, and the return of the Barrier Fortresses to the Dutch, who had shown themselves incapable of holding them against France ; Sardinia objected to the cession of Finale to Genoa. A renewal of war between Austria and Prussia and Great Britain and France was only a question of time.

3. France.

France was greatly weakened by the war. French generals had gained few successes, but Saxe, a Saxon commanding French armies, had won brilliant victories in the Netherlands. But Louis XV, who declared that he would "make peace as a King and not as a tradesman," utterly failed to take advantage of the opportunities Saxe had given him, and France gained no

¹ Quoted by Bassel.

territory. Belle-isle's scheme for the dismemberment of Austria had failed, and the reconciliation of Bavaria and Austria deprived France of a valuable ally in Germany; the French navy had been crippled; French commerce had been ruined and the national debt increased by twelve hundred million livres. "États courus à pain" was the judgment of Paris.

C. Great Britain.

Great Britain gained little in return for her heavy outlay of men and money. The British, unlike George II., cared little for the safety of Hanover; no new territory was acquired. But the navy had been made efficient and was destined to prove of the utmost value in the Seven Years' War, Britain had secured a commanding position in Europe, and the Hanoverian succession was secured.

D. Prussia.

Prussia had become a first-class military power and by the acquisition of Silesia had increased her territory by about a third.

North Germany begins to assert her independence of South.

E. Austria.

Although she had lost Silesia, Parma and Piacenza, Austria gained considerable advantages. She had escaped the disruption, which seemed likely in 1741, when Fleury declared that "the house of Austria had ceased to exist"; the war and the strong loyalty to Maria Theresa which it evoked proved a bond of union between the Austrian territories, and the close connection with Hungary was a source of strength; Bavaria and Saxony were new allies and the friendship with Russia had been maintained. But the old connection with Great Britain had been weakened; strong resentment had been aroused in Vienna by the somewhat high-handed

dictionary with which Great Britain had compelled Austria to agree to the Treaties of Berlin, Dresden and Warsaw and the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle; this resentment proved an important factor in the Revue of Alliances which was soon to take place.

References: As on page 88, and particularly—

Cambridge Modern History, Vol. VI, pp. 249 and 253.

The Balance of Power (Russell), Basingstoke, pp. 199-202.

SECTION III

EUROPEAN DIPLOMACY
FROM THE PEACE OF AIX-LA-CHAPELLE,
TO THE END OF THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR
1748-1763

AUSTRIAN DIPLOMACY FROM 1748st TO 1758

After the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, Europe was divided into two parties: Great Britain, followed by Holland, was aligned with Austria and Russia, united by the Treaty of St. Petersburg, 1746, against France, Prussia and Spain. The eight years following the Peace saw a complete change in this arrangement.

I. Austria and Great Britain.

A. Prussia and Silesia.

Great Britain was an old ally of Austria, but the Austrians had strongly resented the neutrality Walpole preserved in the War of the Polish Succession; the overbearing diplomacy of Great Britain had compelled Maria Theresa most unwillingly to cede Silesia to Frederick II.

Maria Theresa hated Frederick II and was determined to recover Silesia because its loss seriously damaged the prestige of the Hapsburgs and weakened the German element in the Austrian dominions, and also because she was a devoted Roman Catholic and resented the cession of her former territory to a Protestant King. But George II was reluctant to take any steps against Prussia, which could retaliate by invading Hanover; and although in 1756 Great Britain joined the alliance of Austria and Russia, she refused to support warlike operations against Frederick II.

B. The election of Joseph as King of the Romans.

Maria was anxious to secure the election of her elder son the Archduke Joseph¹ as King of the Romans

¹ From 1780 to 1790 the Emperor Joseph II.

and then to secure his succession to the Empire. George II, as Elector of Hanover, supported Joseph's candidature to ally with Maria Theresa, and his influence with the Electors of Bavaria, Cologne and Saxony seemed likely to secure their support. But the Electors demanded, as the price of their support, concessions which Maria Theresa was unwilling to make: she particularly resented a claim for compensation for losses sustained in the recent war by Charles, the Elector Palatine, who had fought on the French side against Austria. George II supported the claims of the Elector Palatine, and owing to his action, to his attempt to increase the prestige of Hanover during the negotiations and the delay in the election, which did not take place until March 15th, 1764, Maria Theresa became still more antagonistic against Great Britain.

C. The Netherlands.

(1) Weakening of Austrian influence.

Owing to the closing of the Scheldt, the restoration of the Barrier Fortresses to Holland and her weakness in defending the Austrian Netherlands against France, the authority of Austria in this part of her dominions had been seriously impaired.

(2) Maria Theresa refused to send troops to the Netherlands.

War between France and Great Britain had been going on for some years in India and North America, and war between the two countries seemed imminent in Europe. British interests demanded that France should not secure the Spanish Netherlands, and George II now requested Maria Theresa to send an Austrian force of 20,000 or 25,000 men, to co-operate in Flanders, to help him to hold the Netherlands and to divert an attack on Hanover which he knew France was preparing. Maria Theresa advised George to protect Hanover by making an agreement with Russia, and by a Russo-English treaty of September, 1768, the

Carina Elisabeth agreed to send 10,000 men to protect Hanover, if necessary. George II now reserved his request for Austrian assistance in the Netherlands, but Maria Theresa definitely refused on the ground that if she sent forces to the Netherlands she would weaken her power of resisting France.

D. Divergence of interests between Great Britain and Austria.

Thus the old Austro-English alliance broke down owing to diversity of interest. Great Britain's main object was to oppose France, Austria's to oppose Prussia. "Nothing now remained for England but to appeal to Prussia."²

II. Austria and France.

Opposition to the Hapsburgs had been the keynote of French diplomacy since the outbreak of the Hapsburg-Talbot struggle in 1682³; this policy had been continued by Henry IV, Richelieu, Mazarin and Louis XIV. It was now reversed, mainly owing to the skilful diplomacy of Kaunitz.

A. Kaunitz, 1711-1794.

Anton Wenzel von Kaunitz, Frederick II's most dangerous opponent, had been educated for the Church, but adopted a diplomatic career. He had received an excellent education which he supplemented by foreign travel. His conduct was at times prodigal, he was a dandy and a man of the world. But he shares with Pitt the distinction of being the greatest statesman of his time; he was an acute observer of political conditions, full of resource, energetic but not rash; he was sincerely patriotic and used his "dexterous diplomacy, [which] was the result of cool and calculating reason,"⁴ for the benefit of Austria. Frederick II justly described him as "so frivolous in his tastes and so profound in business."

He had been Austrian ambassador at Rome, Turin

¹ Lodge.

² Volume II, page 171.

³ Kaunitz.

and Remond, and Austrian representative at the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle. In 1749 he had become a member of the Council of the Empire, and from that time till his death in 1794 he influenced the policy of Austria.

B. Kautz and France.

The policy of Kautz.

In 1749 Kautz submitted a most important memorandum on foreign policy to Maria Theresa.

a. Natural friends and enemies.

He admitted that the three natural enemies of Austria were France, Prussia and Turkey, of whom France was much the most dangerous; her natural allies were Great Britain, whom Holland would follow, Russia and Saxony.

b. *Silesia.*

Kautz maintained that, in view of the hostile intentions of Frederick II, it was essential that Austria should regain Silesia immediately and so strengthen her frontier against Prussia. For this assistance was necessary, but of her ally Saxony was weak; Russia was friendly but unreliable, as her policy depended on the personal feelings of the ruling monarch; Great Britain was united by community of religion to Prussia, had compelled Maria Theresa to surrender Silesia and was more interested in colonial than European politics. Although George II as Elector of Hanover was well-disposed towards the Hapsburgs, there was a strong feeling in England against using English men and money to support the interests of Hanover. The "conviction that the British alliance was useless against Prussia" is the keystone of the policy of Kautz.¹

¹ Lodge.

C. France.

Kaunitz had attempted in 1748 to induce France to compel Frederick II to give up Silesia by offering her Brabant and Flanders, but his offer had been rejected. He now denied that the interests of France and Austria were irreconcilable, and pointed out that both had suffered from the traditional hostility of the pair.

A new confederacy, in which France should be the leading member, must be formed to overthrow the power of Prussia. As a result of its efforts Austria was to recover Silesia; Sweden, part of Pomerania; Saxony, Magdeburg; the Elector Palatine, Cleves and Mark; and, if George II remained neutral, Hanover was to receive Halberstadt.

D. Criticism.

Kaunitz wished to consolidate the German possessions of Austria, and for this object he was willing to sacrifice the Austrian Netherlands and the Milanese. He desired to make Austria supreme in Germany and to attain this end by breaking the new power of France which had secured preponderance in the North.

The radical change he proposed was opposed by the Emperor Francis I, who favoured the continuance of the old British alliance, but warmly supported by Maria Theresa as the best means of ensuring the recovery of Silesia and of humiliating the hated Frederick II.

E. Kaunitz in Paris.

1750-1754. Kaunitz was ambassador at Paris and found that there was much irritation against France. Louis XV, who professed his devotion to Roman Catholicism, objected to Frederick II as a freethinker. Madame de Pompadour and Louis XV were greatly offended by the personal attacks Frederick II passed upon them; Louis felt that France was an obstacle to his desire to secure the throne of Poland for the Prince de Conti; jealousy was felt of the growing power of Prussia, which

had represented France as the champion of the German Protestant states. But Louis refused to break the treaty he had made for fifteen years with Frederick in 1761, and Kaunitz returned to Vienna in 1763 without having accomplished his aim. But by securing the strong friendship of Madame de Pompadour he had done something to pave the way for his ultimate success.

[June, 1763. By the Treaty of Arras (1763), Austria and Spain made an alliance, which was soon joined by Naples and Sicily, guaranteed each others' possessions and recognized the status quo in Italy.]

Reference:

A History of European Diplomacy (D. J. Hill).

FRENCH DIPLOMACY FROM 1748-1756

During this time Louis XV, no longer *bien-aimé*, was embarrassed by the strong resistance raised by the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle; by growing financial difficulties, which Machault in vain endeavored to remedy in 1749; and by disputes with the *Parlement*,¹ which nearly led to civil war in Paris in 1764.

For five months after the death of Fleury in 1743 Louis had tried to be his own foreign minister, but his subservience to the influence of his ministers and mistresses and his natural indolence led to failure, and Armand became Minister of Foreign Affairs in 1748 and D'Argenson in November, 1744. But, in order to secure his own objects, Louis organized a secret diplomatic service of his own with its own heads, nicknamed *les visés de poche*; and the King's personal representatives often opposed the policy of the official ambassadors. French diplomacy, therefore, was marked by indecision and futility at a time of exceptional difficulty.

¹ Page 48.

1. France and Great Britain.

A. The Colonies.

Louis XV had hoped to appease Britain by the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. But the Peace had not settled the burning questions of naval supremacy and colonial expansion and rivalry in India; disputes as to the boundaries of the American colonies, and especially of Acadia, continued: for while the disputes between Britain and Spain were commercial, the rivalry between Britain and France was territorial, and growing antagonism led to fighting in the colonies.

(1) India.

Dupleix, who strongly resented the restoration of Madras to the British, now aimed at strengthening the influence of France by establishing as local rulers native princes who were subservient to French control.

1751. Dupleix helped Chanda Sahib to capture Arcot and to become Nubab of the Carnatic, and Munfar Jung to become Subadar of the Deccan.

September, 1751. Robert Clive recaptured Arcot and held it against Chanda Sahib. This was the turning-point of British power in India. Clive now followed the policy of Dupleix, made alliances with native princes and greatly improved the fighting power of native armies by appointing British officers.

1754. Dupleix was recalled, and his successor, Godchaux, gave up the French conquests to the British.

(2) America.

A joint commission appointed in 1750 to consider the boundaries in North America and the ownership of the West Indian islands failed to make a settlement.

The old causes of dispute¹ had been aggravated by the problem of Acadia. The French maintained that by the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle the British had obtained only the southern part of the peninsula, the

British claimed as part of Acadia country¹ lying south of the St. Lawrence. The French stirred up the Acadians, who counted their allegiance to Britain, and the Indians and the British colonists suffered from relentless border warfare, while many Acadians were killed in an attempt to capture the new Fort St. Lawrence at the head of the Bay of Fundy.

1752. Duquesne was appointed Governor of Quebec. He determined to capture the English outposts on Lake Ontario and to secure the Ohio Valley by building Fort Duquesne² in 1754.

1754. Defeat of the Virginia militia under George Washington at Great Meadows.

1758. Defeat and death of Braddock, who was advancing against Fort Duquesne; defeat of a French force under Destiau, which was invading the Hudson Valley.

B. Naval supremacy.

The problem of naval supremacy, always an important question between France and Britain owing to their position on the English Channel, became more important owing to the need of maintaining communications with the colonies.

1754-1759. D'Armenouville made an attempt to reorganise the French navy, which Fleury had neglected.

July, 1758. Boscawen, sent to intercept a French fleet taking reinforcements to Canada, captured the *Alcide* and the *Lys* off Newfoundland. The British attacked French merchant ships and took three hundred by the end of 1758.

C. European problems.

(1) Louis XV wished to keep peace with Great Britain.

Louis XV refused to believe that the Americans

¹ Now forming the States of New Brunswick and part of Maine.

² New Pittsburg.

dispute would lead to war with Great Britain; Madame de Pompadour feared that war entailing the King's absence would weaken her influence over him. Secret negotiations for peace were carried on with Britain at the end of 1755. But Bougainville's success roused the French to fury and made imminent a war which had long been inevitable.

- (2) Louis XV urged Frederick II to invade Hanover.

The French would certainly be defeated at sea and would try to secure Hanover in compensation for the loss of colonies. They relied on the co-operation of Prussia, and when Great Britain seemed likely to declare war on France in 1756 France promised to help her. In 1756 D'Argenson tried to induce Frederick II to invade Hanover, but he was unwilling to do this as he feared that, if he did, Austria, Russia and Saxony would attack him; he therefore refused D'Argenson's request and in July, 1756, urged the French to invade the Austrian Netherlands.

- (3) The French do not renew the Treaty with Frederick II.

The treaty with Frederick expired in June, 1756, and Frederick in August, 1755, had asserted that his treaty with France "bound him to defend French territory in Europe, but not in America." Political conditions called for prompt action, but the French Government proved futile and irresolute and took no effective steps to secure the renewal of the treaty.

II. France and Poland.

Owing to the alliance concluded by Austria and Russia in 1745, Louis XV was anxious to strengthen French influence in Poland, which lay between Russia and Western Europe, and where it seemed likely that the question of the succession to Augustus III would soon arise. The Saxon party, which was friendly towards Russia, wished to make a Czartoriski king, but the national anti-Russian party favoured the Prince de

Conti, a cousin of Louis XV. Louis XV strongly supported the candidature of Conti and aimed at establishing a league of Poland, Sweden, Prussia and Turkey to check Austria and Russia. His policy seemed likely to prove successful.

1748-1755. The skilful diplomacy of Des Alleurs and Vergennes secured the alliance of Turkey.

1748. France joined Prussia in an alliance with Sweden.

1751. The accession of Adolphus Frederick to the throne of Sweden strengthened French influence and the Russians evacuated Finland, which they had invaded in 1750.

1752-1755. De Beaulieu, ambassador to Poland, although not successful in securing the reversion of the Crown for Conti, was over Augustus III to the French cause and secured the help of his Electorate of Saxony, which would prove a further barrier to a Russian advance.

Thus Louis XV had formed a League which seemed likely to check Russian invasions and to ensure attacks on Russia from Turkey by land and from Sweden by sea.

THE REVERSAL OF ALLIANCES

I. The Treaty of Westminster.

A. Practical isolation of Great Britain and Prussia.

By the end of 1755 Britain was allied only with Russia, and Russia was more anxious to attack Prussia than to defend Hanover, while England regarded the defence of Hanover as the main object of the recent treaty. The alliance between Britain and Austria had come to an end, and Holland, in which the opponents of the House of Orange had gained supremacy, made a treaty with France. It was desirable to secure the co-operation of Prussia in the defence of Hanover.

Prussia found that France could not be relied upon to protect her, and the continuance of the French alliance

might lead to attacks from Great Britain through Hanover, from Austria and Russia. Frederick had learned of the Anglo-Russian treaty of September, 1756, and thought that the danger from Russia would be averted if he came to terms with her ally Britain.

January 16th, 1758. Great Britain and Prussia made the Treaty of Westminster.

1. Terms.

Both countries agreed to maintain the neutrality of Germany, in which the Austrian Netherlands were not included, and not to allow any foreign troops to enter the country. This involved the protection of Hanover by Frederick against a French attack, and of Prussia, including Silesia, against a Russian invasion.

1. Results.

The object of the Treaty was to preserve peace. "In order to restrain French action against Hanover, George II had hoped to confront France with a league composed of Austria, Russia and Prussia."¹ It proved the immediate cause of the Seven Years' War.

(1) France.

France resented the defection of Frederick II and the secrecy of his proceedings and refused to accept his assurance that his friendly relations with her would remain unchanged.

(2) Austria.

Austria resented a settlement of Germany without reference to the Empire and was disappointed that the chance of an attack by Russia on her hated enemy was diminished. Maria Theresa said that the news of the Treaty had come on her "like a paralytic stroke."

(3) Russia.

Russia had regarded the Treaty of St. Petersburg

¹ Dr. Hall.

as a prelude to an invasion of Prussia and considered the new Treaty an act of treachery on the part of Britain.

The Treaty of Westminster was the first act in the Revival of Alliance.

II. The First Treaty of Versailles, May, 1768.

Partly owing to fear that, in spite of the Treaty of Westminster, Austria would be induced to renew her alliance with Great Britain, partly owing to the assurance of the Empress Elizabeth that she would send 80,000 men against Prussia, would ensure the return of Silesia to Austria and approved of an alliance between France and Austria, the two latter countries made the Treaty of Versailles on May 1st, 1768—the “*Alliance des trois Césars*.”²

A. Terms.

The Treaty really consisted of three treaties—

(1) Neutrality.

Austria to remain neutral as between France and Great Britain; France not to attack the Netherlands or any Austrian territory.

(2) Defensive.

Each Power to protect the territory of the other in case of attack; but Austria was not to fight against Great Britain.

Thus France was bound to help Austria in case of a Prussian invasion, but was to receive no help from Austria if Great Britain attacked France.

(3) Secret articles.

Austria and France to help each other if attacked in Europe by an ally of Great Britain.

² *La* Elizabeth of Russia, Maria Theresa and Madame de Pompadour. The story that Maria Theresa, in order to win the help of Madame de Pompadour, addressed her in an autograph letter as “*ma chère compère*,” is repeatedly laughed.

The Kings of Spain and Naples and the Duke of Parma to be invited to join the alliance.

B. Criticism.

(1) Defensive and preliminary.

The contracting parties regarded the First Treaty of Versailles as a defensive alliance preliminary to a closer union which Kaunitz and Maria Theresa were determined, Louis XV and Madame de Pompadour were not unwilling—should be used to break the power of Prussia. But as yet there was considerable reluctance in France to go to war with Prussia, which was, at least theoretically, an ally until September, 1756, when the alliance formed in 1741 expired.

(2) The Treaty was a complete reversal of the traditional policy of France involving alliance with Austria, her long-standing enemy.

[May 16th, 1756. Great Britain declared war on France.

August 18th, 1756. Frederick II resolved to anticipate his enemies and invaded Saxony. Beginning of the Seven Years' War.]

III. Russia Joins France and Austria.

Kaunitz wished Russia to join France and Austria. But, although the Empress Elizabeth was bitterly hostile to Frederick II, the recent attempt of Louis XV to intervene in Poland and to stir up Turkey and Sweden against Russia hampered negotiations. But the invasion of Saxony altered conditions.

January, 1757. Russia accepted the First Treaty of Versailles.

February, 1757. By a new treaty between Russia and Austria each party undertook to send a force of 80,000 men against Prussia; Silesia and Glatz were to be restored to Austria; the power of Prussia was to be broken. By a secret treaty France undertook to help Russia if attacked by Turkey.

IV. Sweden.

March 12th, 1757. By the Treaty of Stockholm, Sweden, in the hope of securing Pomerania, joined the Coalition of Austria and France.

V. The Second Treaty of Versailles, May, 1763.

The fact that the Dauphin had married a daughter of the Elector of Saxony added to the indignation which Frederick II's invasion of Saxony had sowed in Paris, where "*le crime de la Dauphine*" had become the ruling passion of the day.¹

But difficulties arose which delayed the conclusion of joint action by Austria and France against Prussia. The main objects of the two powers were divergent; Austria was most anxious to crush Prussia; France to weaken Great Britain. A Russian attack on Prussia involved a Russian march through Poland in which Louis XV wished to establish French and not Russian influence. Austria objected to the demand of the French for Ostend and Newport and to the proposed invasion of Hanover by the French, which might prevent them from joining a united attack on Prussia. After considerable difficulty, on May 1st, 1763, Austria and France made the Second Treaty of Versailles, by which it was agreed—

- (1) That France should supply 108,000 French troops and pay Austria an annual subsidy of twelve million livres.
- (2) That Prussia should be dismembered by the return of Silesia and Glatz to Austria, the cession of Magdeburg to Saxony, of Pomerania to Sweden, of Olives to the Elector Palatine, of Guelderland to Holland.
- (3) That Austria should give to Don Philip in exchange for Fiume the Austrian Netherlands except Ostend,

¹ De Hall.

Nieport and Tyne, which were to be given to France.

Thus the Reversal of Alliances was complete. "The Empress abandoned Great Britain and Holland to the resentment of France, and the Court of Versailles sacrificed Prussia to the ambition of the Empress."¹

VI. General.

The Reversal of Alliances was "the most profound, and by its consequences the most grave, of the diplomatic revolutions of the eighteenth century."² In two years it overthrew the political equilibrium of Europe.

A. France.

(1) Change of policy.

France completely reversed her traditional policy by making an alliance with Austria and breaking her friendship with the German Protestants. This involved a breach with her recent ally Prussia. The alliance with Austria was largely responsible for the convention with Russia and thus involved the sacrifice of Louis XV's plans with regard to Poland, the weakening of the connection between France and Turkey and the withdrawal of the support hitherto given to Sweden against Russia. French intervention in Italy was checked, and the new dynasty came under Austrian influence.

(2) Criticism.

The Reversal of Alliances was due largely to a desire to take vengeance on Frederick II for deserting France and supporting Great Britain, and perhaps to an undoubted fear that Prussia, Austria and Russia would combine against France.³

The ineffective diplomacy of Louis XV lowered the prestige of France, which "became the catapaw of Russia and Austria."⁴ By the treaties she had made

¹ Quoted by Dr. Hall. ² *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. VI, page 191.

³ Hall.

France, even if Prussia were broken, would gain no territorial compensation for the heavy sacrifices she would have to make except a few towns in the Netherlands, the greater portion of which would go to Don Philip.

In view of the struggle for the colonies, in which Austria could render her no assistance, France ought to have kept clear of the war in Europe in order to use all her forces against Great Britain, whose navy made her a most dangerous opponent. By intervening in Europe, France was playing the game of Great Britain and Austria. In the hope of gaining part of the Austrian Netherlands and of securing Hanover, France allowed herself "to be dragged into a struggle for the aggrandizement of Prussia for the benefit of Austria, and plunged into the continental war without receiving any good pro quo from the austere Hapsburg government."¹ She thus "committed an act of madness, of imbecile treason against herself, the like of which hardly exists in history."²

B. Not a Catholic alliance.

Frederick II, a freethinker, pretended that he was upholding the Protestant cause against Catholic nations. Maria Theresa was a devout Catholic; Louis XV loudly professed Catholicism; but an alliance which included Russia and Sweden could not be called Catholic. The Seven Years' War was political and commercial and no more religious than the War of the Spanish Succession.

C. Great Britain.

The alliance between Prussia and Great Britain suited both parties. The war in the colonies diverted French forces which might have served against Frederick; Frederick prevented the French from concentrating their forces against Great Britain and made Hanover safer.

¹ Russell.

² Martine, *Histoire de France*.

The restrictions placed by Great Britain on commerce with France greatly weakened the alliance between the former and Holland owing to the seizure of Dutch vessels; it led in July, 1758, to a maritime union between Sweden and Denmark to maintain the freedom of the seas against the English fleet.

References:

- The Balance of Power* (Hall), *Irvington*, chap. viii.
Cambridge Modern History, Vol. VI, chap. II.
A History of European Diplomacy (D. J. Hill), Longmans,
 Vol. III, chap. vi, Section III.
Maria Theresa (Bright), Macmillan, chaps. 7 and vi.

THE DIPLOMACY OF THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR

The military operations of the war and divergence of interest between France, Austria and Russia¹ led to much diplomacy while the war was going on.

I. France.

D'Argenson, who wished to use all the forces of France in the colonial war and objected to French operations in Germany, had been deprived of office in 1757 owing to the influence of Madame de Pompadour. Bernis, who had taken an active part in concluding the First Treaty of Versailles, was compelled by Louis XV to resign in October, 1758, because he advocated the conclusion of peace owing to the serious losses of France in America, to her obvious fecklessness and the proved incapacity of her Government.

Choiseul, the French ambassador, who had arranged at Vienna the marriage of Louis (XVI) and Marie

¹ See page 128.

Artois, succeeded Bernis as Minister of Foreign Affairs in 1768 and became Minister of War and Marine in 1762.

A. Great Britain.

Choiseul considered that Great Britain was the only dangerous enemy of France and endeavoured to leave France free to oppose her.

(I) New treaty with Austria.

December 1768.¹ Choiseul, who realised that the Second Treaty of Versailles was unfavourable to France, made a new treaty with Austria by which the cession of the Austrian Netherlands to Don Philip and the consequent restoration of Parma, Piacenza and Guastalla to Austria² were cancelled; the definite obligation of France to help Austria to recover Silesia and Glatz was replaced by an engagement of France to maintain one hundred thousand troops on the Rhine. Choiseul's object was to limit French operations in Germany and to secure mass French troops for service against Great Britain. The new arrangements proved ruinous to France and of little value to Austria. It assisted Frederick II by limiting French intervention in Germany.

(2) Peace negotiations.

Pitt had refused the offer of Don Carlos of Naples to mediate between France and Great Britain.

In 1769 Choiseul came to the conclusion that the complete defeat of Prussia by Austria might lead to a renewal of the old alliance between Great Britain and Austria and to the dangerous predominance of Austria in Central Europe. Believing that "the King of Prussia is sufficiently abused," he now endeavoured to secure peace with Great Britain, in which country there was a strong demand for peace, in the hope that the union of Great Britain, France and Spain might

¹ The Treaty was signed in March, 1768.

² Page 128.

compel Austria and Prussia to come to terms. But his design failed in 1760 because Great Britain refused to make peace without Prussia, and a proposal of Great Britain and Prussia for a peace congress was not accepted because it did not include Poland, Saxony and Sweden.

B. Sweden.

1757. At the instigation of France, and in the hope of securing all her old possessions in Pomerania, Sweden declared war on Prussia and undertook to supply 30,000 men in addition to her garrison in Stralsund. France promised to pay subsidies to meet the cost of the new army.

II. Great Britain and Prussia.

April 16th, 1758. By the Treaty of London, Great Britain undertook to provide 35,000 men to help Frederick II and to pay him a subsidy of £600,000. Pitt had previously objected to any grant to Frederick for the defence of Hanover. He now completely changed his policy because he wished to keep the French engaged on the Continent and thus to conquer America in Europe.

III. Russia.

A. Russia, Sweden and Denmark.

1758. Russia and Sweden agreed to exclude all foreign vessels from the Baltic. Denmark acceded to the Treaty in 1760.

B. Russia and the Ukraine.

The Empress Elizabeth was determined to secure East Prussia, which was to be ceded to Poland in exchange for the Ukraine. This would probably lead to war between Russia and Turkey.

(1) Austria agrees.

April 1st, 1790. Austria, with reluctance, agreed to support Elizabeth's design.

(2) Louis XV's secret diplomacy.

Owing to the desperate condition of France, Choiseul was willing to accept Elizabeth's offer to mediate between France and Great Britain on condition that France agreed to her designs on the Ukraine.

But Louis XV, now unwilling that Prussia should be destroyed, fearing the growth of Russian power on the Baltic or at the expense of Turkey, feeling also the predominance of Austria, determined to "protect the liberties of the Republic of Poland" and endeavoured, by secret diplomacy, to secure the election of the Emperor's brother-in-law, Xavier of Saxony, as successor to his father Augustus III, and to hamper the Russian armistice which were operating against Prussia.

C. Treaty between Russia and Prussia.

The resignation of Pitt in October, 1791, and the successes of the Russians, who held Silesia and Glatz, made Frederick's situation appear desperate. He had tried in vain to improve it by begging the Turks and Tartars to come to his aid.

January 6th, 1792. The Empress Elizabeth, who hated Frederick and said she would destroy the "disturber of the peace of Europe," died at St. Petersburg. Her nephew Peter III, a great admirer of Frederick, at once stopped hostilities against Prussia and, on May 6th, 1792, concluded with him an offensive and defensive alliance which gave him the use of the Russian armistice.

[May 22nd, 1792. Sweden makes peace with Prussia and withdraws from the war.]

After the murder of Peter III in July, his wife Catherine II maintained the peace with Frederick II, although she withdrew the Russian troops from his service.

Frederick II's position had been completely changed and he was free to attack the Austrians.

IV. Spain.

A. Ferdinand VI.

During the reign of Ferdinand VI (1746-1759) the closer union of France and Spain which had resulted from the Family Compact of 1733 had been weakened and France received no help from Spain in the beginning of the war. Owing to the melancholia from which Ferdinand VI suffered at the end of his life the Government was directed by Richard Wall, an Irishman who maintained a friendly attitude towards Great Britain.

B. Charles III.

(1) Mediation.

Frederick VI died in August, 1760, and was succeeded by Don Carlos of Naples, who, like the Dauphin, had married a daughter of Augustus III of Saxony, and resented the way in which Great Britain had treated Naples in the War of the Austrian Succession. But as a Bourbon and a hereditary enemy of the Hapsburgs he strongly objected to the alliance between France and Austria. His Queen, Maria Amalia, favoured England, and Charles III, although friendly to France, did not wish to excite the hostility of Great Britain at the beginning of his reign, when the task of ending the anarchy which had marked the last years of his predecessor would require all his efforts. He therefore offered his services as a mediator between Great Britain and France, but Pitt refused to accept his offer.

(2) The Family Compact.

a. Causes of complaint.

Although Wall maintained a friendly attitude towards Great Britain serious differences had arisen before 1763. Pitt was determined to ruin French commerce and showed little regard for the rights of neutrals; Spanish ships suspected of trading with France were detained in British ports, and Wall had protested in vain. Further grievances, of which Charles III complained, were the exclusion of Spanish fishermen from the Newfoundland fisheries and the establishment of British settlements to cut logwood in Honduras. All attempts to settle these differences failed, and Charles III, anxious to regain Gibraltar and to exclude Great Britain from the trade with Central America, joined France against Britain.

b. The Treaty of St. Ildefonso.

August, 1763. The Treaty of St. Ildefonso established anew the Family Compact, by which every enemy of either branch of the House of Bourbon became the "common enemy of both"; France and Spain undertook to act "as if they formed one single power"; the subjects of one nation were to enjoy the rights of natives in the territory of the other. Charles III undertook to declare war on Great Britain on May 1st, 1763; France promised to give Minerva to Spain; both kingdoms determined to compel Portugal to join them against Great Britain.

The Treaty was a triumph for Choiseul, who, unlike his predecessors, realised the importance of the colonial and maritime struggle and attempted to reverse the policy of Floury, who had neglected the best interests of France for

the sake of extending her influence in Europe. Although the Family Compact proved of little use in the Seven Years' War owing to the utter weakness of France and the inability of Spain to make adequate preparations, it played an important part in the war between Great Britain and the American colonies.

October 24, 1761. Redignation of Pitt, who suspected that France and Spain had made an alliance, because the Cabinet refused to declare war on Spain.

January 2nd, 1762. Great Britain declared war on Spain.

References :

- A History of European Diplomacy* (D. J. Hall), Longmans,
Vol. III, chap. vii, Section II.

THE OUTBREAK OF THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR

I. Divergent Aims of the Combatants.

The nations of Europe engaged in the Seven Years' War with different motives.

A. Austria and Russia.

Maria Theresa and Elizabeth of Russia were inspired with strong personal hatred of Frederick II; the former was determined to secure the restoration of Silesia and Glatz, the latter hoped to conquer East Prussia and exchange it for the Ukraine; both wished to reduce Prussia to the position of a minor German state.

But Peter, the heir to the Russian throne, was a great admirer of Frederick II, and the lack of energy so often displayed by Russian generals in the war may have been partly due to recognition of this fact. Neither Russia nor Austria was at war with Great Britain, and Catherine, until his fall in February, 1763, tried to support the British interests at St. Petersburg in return for heavy bribes.

B. France.

France, in which there was always some sympathy with Frederick II, would gain little advantage from the dismemberment of Prussia. The ruin of Prussia would lead to the increase in the power of Russia on the Baltic and of Austria in Central Europe, and both of these results would be contrary to the interests of France. Great Britain, not Prussia, was the great enemy of France, and the main object of France was to attack Hanover in the hope that the defence of Hanover would engage British forces which otherwise might be used in

the colonial war, and that, if France conquered Hanover, she might secure compensations in the colonies for its restoration to George II.

France strongly supported the preservation of the independence of Poland, which Russia and Austria were anxious to destroy; and Elizabeth of Russia was on such cool terms with Louis XV that she kept him waiting two years for an answer to a personal letter.

C. Great Britain.

The main object of George II in Europe was the preservation of Hanover, and the Treaty of Westminster, January, 1763, was made for this purpose. Frederick II hoped that the influence of his new ally would avert the danger of an attack from Russia on his eastern frontiers. But from 1763 realized the possibility of conquering America in Europe, and the strong help he gave to Frederick II compelled the French to employ in the European War large forces which might have been used in the colonies.

D. Spain.

Spain had no interest in the European War and made an alliance with France to protect her colonies in Central America from Great Britain.

Thus the coalition against Frederick II lacked cohesion. United action against Prussia in 1756 would probably have led to the overthrow of the kingdom; the lack of common interests and a single aim which weakened the coalition was an important factor in Frederick's successful effort to preserve Prussia.

II. Frederick II Invaded Saxony.

August 29th, 1756. Frederick II invaded Saxony and the Seven Years' War began. "The Seven Years' War, so far as the participation of Europe was concerned, was,

in the final analysis, a representation of Frederick II's conquest of Silesia and invasion of Saxony.¹⁷

A. Criticism.

Some authorities hold that Frederick, knowing the hostility of Austria and Russia towards Prussia, and believing that "it is better to anticipate than to be anticipated," determined to defend himself by marching through Saxony and attacking Austria in Bohemia. His invasion of Saxony was therefore defensive, to protect his rear and to strengthen his forces with Saxon troops. Others hold that his invasion was intended to lead to further conquests and was purely aggressive. There is no doubt that the invasion of a country with which he was at peace—for Saxony was not a partner in the prospective coalition against Prussia—shocked Europe and was some justification for the First Treaty of Versailles.¹⁸

B. Events in Saxony.

Frederick thought that Augustus III, whose army numbered only 17,000 men, would not resist him. But Augustus took up a strong position at Pirna, near Dresden, where he held out for a month. The Austrians had hoped that Augustus would retire into Bohemia and co-operate with Browne against the Prussians; they therefore delayed sending help into Saxony. Browne, who attempted to relieve Pirna, was checked by Frederick at Lobositz on October 11th, 1756, and returned to Bohemia.

October 18th, 1756. Pirna capitulated to Frederick II. Augustus fled to Wismar, the Saxon soldiers were compelled to join Frederick, the officers were released on parole and Frederick found in the archives at Dresden proof of the hostile intentions of Russia and Austria.

Frederick was master of Saxony, but the resistance of

¹⁷ *Ib.* 818.

¹⁸ *Ib.* 818.

Augustus had saved Austria. It had given the Austrians time to make preparations and compelled Frederick to postpone the invasion of Bohemia.

C. The Empire declared war.

January 18th, 1757. The Diet of the Empire declared war on Frederick II and demanded an armed levy and a war contribution to restore Augustus to Saxony. But the Diet had little power; the Protestant states protested against its action.

[January 21st, 1757. Russia accepted the Treaty of Versailles,¹ and in February, 1757, made a new treaty with Austria against Prussia.²

May 1st, 1757. The Second Treaty of Versailles.³]

THE WAR IN EUROPE FROM 1757-1760

I. The Campaign of 1757.

The Coalition determined on a united attack on Prussia by Austria through Bohemia, Russia from the East, Sweden from the North, France through Westphalia and the Imperial army from the South: it was hoped that such concerted action would compel Frederick to evacuate Silesia and Olusatia. Frederick resolved on further aggression as the best means of defence and invaded Bohemia in April, 1757.

A. Bohemia.

May 6th, 1757. Frederick routed Prince Charles of Lorraine and Bervens at Prague; death of Bervens and Schwerin. Frederick besieged Prague, into which the Austrians had retreated.

June 18th, 1757. The Austrians under Daun, coming to raise the siege, routed Frederick at Kolin, compelled him to raise the siege of Prague and retire from Bohemia into Silesia. Daun's successful action made him neglect

¹ Page 125.

² Page 125.

³ Page 125.

his opportunity of completing the destruction of the Prussian army and conquering Prussia.

B. Hanover.

A French army under D'Estrees invaded Hanover intending to attack Prussia from the West.

July 26th, 1797. D'Estrees routed at Hastenbeck a Hanoverian army, strengthened by German mercenaries, under Cumberland.

September 8th, 1797. By the Convention of Kloster-Seven Cumberland agreed to disarm his army and to allow the French to keep during the war Bremen and Verden, which would enable them to invade Prussia through Magdeburg. Brunswick and Hanover were now at the mercy of the French.

But Richelieu, who now commanded the French, instead of pushing on towards Brandenburg, allowed his troops to pillage and took so much plunder himself that he was nicknamed "Père-la-Marande."

C. The invasion of Prussia.

(1) The Russians.

The Russians under Suvoroff entered Prussia, took Maastricht and on August 30th, 1797, routed Lewald at Gees-Algenhoef.

(2) The Swedes.

September, 1797. The Swedes, operating from Scotland, invaded Pomerania.

(3) The French.

The French under Bonaparte joined the Imperial army in Thuringia and prepared to advance on Prussia. But the Imperial army was inefficient, many of its Protestant soldiers deserted and dissension between the French and Germans weakened their cause.

(4) The Austrians.

The Austrians under Haddick regained most of Silesia and entered Berlin on October 16th.

D. Frederick saved Prussia.

(1) Rossbach, 1757.

November 5th, 1757. Frederick routed the Franco-Imperial army at Rossbach; the Imperial army was destroyed; the French evacuated Germany.

This victory "secured the triumph of the North German. . . . It was the discomfiture of the noblest party in France,"¹ "overthrew the admiration for the French that had long been felt in Germany and was said by Napoleon to be the cause of the downfall of the Bourbons in 1792."

(2) Leuthen, 1757.

December 8th, 1757. Frederick, after a very rapid march from Rossbach, routed the Austrians under Charles of Lorraine and Daun at Leuthen and recovered all Silesia except Schweidnitz.

Rossbach and Leuthen were the greatest of Frederick's victories.

(3) The Russians withdrew.

The Empress Elizabeth was now very ill; Agassiz, knowing that Peter (III), the heir to the Russian throne, was a warm admirer of Frederick II, instead of completing the conquest of Prussia retired into winter quarters in Poland.

(4) The Swedes defeated.

Owing to the retreat of the Russians, Lohwold drove the Swedes out of Pomerania.

(5) William Pitt.

Largely owing to William Pitt, the Convention of Kloster-Seven, which had caused great indignation in England, was repudiated; promises of aid in men and money were made to Frederick II,² who accepted Ferdinand of Brunswick as general of the reorganised Hanoverian army.

¹ Duple.

I. The Campaign of 1758.

A. Frederick II invades Moravia.

Frederick retook Schweidnitz on April 16th, 1758, invaded Moravia and besieged Olmitz. But London cut off the counsels of Frederick, who, knowing the Russians were threatening Brandenburg, raised the siege and by a masterly retreat retired successfully into Silesia.

B. The Russians invade Prussia.

The Empress Elizabeth recovered from her illness and, partly owing to a request from Austria for more active operations against Prussia, replaced Apraxin by Fermor, who invaded East Prussia. In February, Bestuzoff, who was friendly to Britain, was superseded by Wernanoff, a friend of Austria; the Grand Duke Peter and his wife Catherine fell into disgrace; Austria and Russia made a new alliance against Prussia.

January, 1758. Fermor took Königsberg, entered East Prussia and on August 12th laid siege to Chetzin. His advance was a serious threat to Brandenburg.

August 18th, 1758. Frederick II, coming to relieve Chetzin, fought the Russians at Zorndorf, where Zeidlitz and the Prussian cavalry distinguished themselves. The battle was indecisive, but Fermor withdrew into Poland. Brandenburg was saved; the efforts of the Swedes, who looked to the Russians to help them in Pomerania, proved unsuccessful.

C. The Austrians invade Saxony and Silesia.

The Austrians under Daun and the Imperialists under the Duke of Saxe-Weissenfels now attacked Prince Henry of Prussia in Saxony in the hope of recapturing Dresden. A second Austrian army under Marmch invaded Silesia and besieged Neisse.

Frederick, after a very rapid march, joined Prince Henry, but, tired of Daun's cautious tactics and anxious to save Silesia, accepted battle in an unfavourable

position at Hochkirch on October 14th, 1758. Daun defeated Frederick, who lost his baggage and artillery.

Daun, with his usual sluggishness, failed to follow up his victory; Frederick rapidly reformed his army, marched round Daun's army into Silesia and compelled Harsch to withdraw from Neisse.

Zweibrücken was now threatening Leipzig, and Daun Dresden. By another rapid march Frederick again entered Saxony; Daun evacuated Saxony and retired into Bohemia for the winter.

D. Ferdinand of Brunswick and the French.

(1) The French cross the Rhine.

After their success at Hartenback the French occupied a strong position extending from Breiten to Brunswick and threatened Northern Germany. But their forces, which numbered 80,000 men, were disorganised, undisciplined and encumbered with an enormous number of non-combatants; Clermont, their new general, was incompetent.

Ferdinand reassembled the Hanoverian army, which had retained its arms, and by brilliant manœuvring cleared Westphalia, Hanover, Brunswick and Elms of the French; captured Minden on March 14th, 1758; drove the French over the Rhine at Emmerich on March 27th; routed Clermont at Oerfeld on June 22d; 8500 British troops joined Ferdinand in August.

(2) The French recover some ground.

Ferdinand now wished to invade the Austrian Netherlands, but the French under Sautins invaded Hesse and took Cassel, while a force under De Braglie gained a small victory at Sonderhausen on July 22d. A division of Ferdinand's army was defeated by Clavel at Luttenberg on October 10th, 1758. Ferdinand wintered in Westphalia, and the French near Frankfurt.

E. General.

By the end of 1798, in spite of heavy fighting, no permanent advantage had been gained by either side. "Our campaign is ended," said Frederick, "and neither side has gained anything except the loss of many brave soldiers."

The Russians had overrun East Prussia, the French held Rome, but Frederick retained Saxony and Ferdinand Westphalia, and the British had gained substantial successes in the colonial war.¹ Frederick had saved Prussia, partly owing to his brilliant leadership and the bravery of his soldiers; partly owing to the failure of Daun and Apraxin to follow up the advantage they had gained; partly because Ferdinand of Brunswick had kept France fully engaged, and partly because Pitt's subsidies, amounting to nearly £2,000,000 for the year, had replenished his empty treasury.

France had suffered most; her finances were in a hopeless condition and her colonial trade ruined. Bernis therefore strongly advocated peace, but was deprived of office and succeeded in November, 1798, by Choiseul.

III. The Campaign of 1799.

Choiseul resolved to concentrate his forces against Great Britain, leaving the Russians and Austrians to deal with Prussia; he hoped to conquer Hanover from the West. Choiseul wrote to Kaunitz in January, 1799: "As to peace with Britain, the King thinks that it is by pursuing the war against that power that we shall enable the King of Prussia. We shall support that opinion, at the risk of losing our colonies."

Frederick II had lost most of his veteran soldiers who had been replaced by less efficient recruits; he found himself in financial difficulties, in spite of British subsidies, and attempted to improve his position by debasing the coinage. Contrary to his usual tactics, his

¹ Page 146-7.

operations in 1759 were mainly defensive, as he lacked the means necessary for offensive action. Russia, now definitely aiming at the conquest of East Prussia, and Austria, still determined to regain Silesia and Glatz, proposed again to attack Prussia.

A. Minden.

Ferdinand of Brunswick, trying to stop the French from attacking Hanover, attacked them in Hesse, but was defeated at Bergen by Broglie and driven back into Westphalia. The French took Minden and Münster.

August 1st, 1759. Ferdinand routed the combined armies of Broglie and Contades at Minden, where the six "Minden regiments" broke sixty-three squadrons of cavalry which formed the French centre. The French escaped annihilation only because Lord George Sackville refused to order the cavalry to charge. This victory saved Hanover, led to the retreat of the French from Hesse and secured Frederick's western flank.

B. Kunsdorf, August, 1759.

Soltikoff, the new Russian general, advanced against Prussia through Poland, defeated the Prussian general Wedel at Zollichau on July 13rd, 1759, and seized Frankfurt-on-the-Oder. A reinforcement of 20,000 Austrians brought his numbers up to 80,000, and he utterly routed Frederick's main army of 60,000 men at Kunsdorf on August 13th, 1759, largely owing to Loudon's skilful handling of the Austrian cavalry. Soltikoff, believing that Austria was not taking a fair share in the war, and realising that Peter, the heir to the Russian throne, who had regained the position he had recently lost, would resent the overthrow of Frederick II, did not advance, and Prussia thus escaped certain defeat. The Russians retired into Poland.

C. Saxony.

The Imperial forces under the Duke of Saxe-Coburg, encouraged by the victory of Kunsdorf, invaded

Saxony and, in August, 1788, took Leipzig, Torgau and Wittenberg. The Austrians, under Daun, took Dresden on September 18th, 1788. But Frederick, taking advantage of the retreat of the Russians, regained Saxony, except Dresden, which Daun defended. Frederick sent an army of 12,000 men under Finck to cut off the Austrian communications with Bohemia, but Daun compelled Finck to capitulate with all his forces at Maxen on November 11st, and the Austrians retained Dresden.

D. General.

Choiseul's design against England proved unsuccessful: France had suffered disaster on land and sea and in the colonies. The plans of campaign made in Madame de Pompadour's bosom had utterly failed; the prestige of the nation was ruined by the revelation of their vices, folly and what Napoleon called "their most perfect incapacity." The year 1788 was one of the most, perhaps the most, disastrous in French history.

But France was in a desperate state. Only the withdrawal of the Russians had saved her from conquest; Frederick, in despair, was with difficulty dissuaded from committing suicide after Kunersdorf, and the capitulation of Finck was a terrible blow.

IV. The Campaign of 1790.

The year 1790 was the last great year of the war.

A. Silesia.

(1) Landshut, June.

The Austrians under Laudon invaded Silesia and defeated the Prussian general Fournet at Landshut on June 3rd, 1790.

(2) Liegnitz, August.

Daun, who had resisted an attempt of Frederick to retake Dresden, invaded Silesia to support Laudon, while a Russian army under Chumitchoff entered

Silesia from Poland. Frederick II, anxious to prevent the union of the three armies, took advantage of Daun's slowness and routed London at Lingwitz on August 16th. The Russians and Austrians marched into Brandenburg and entered Berlin on October 8th, but retired on Frederick's return from Silesia.

B. Saxony.

The Austrians, taking advantage of the Silesian campaign, captured Torgau and recovered most of Saxony. Frederick routed Daun at Torgau on November 3d, largely owing to the bravery of Zieten who commanded the Prussian reserves, and secured most of Saxony, although the Austrians still held Dresden.

C. Western Germany.

Beaulieu defeated Ferdinand's nephew, the Hereditary Prince of Brunswick, at Corbach on July 10th. The Prince, by Ferdinand's orders, made a diversion on the Lower Rhine, but was defeated at Kloster Camp by Catinet on October 12th, 1760, and driven across the Rhine.

A victory gained by Ferdinand at Warburg, due largely to the British cavalry, prevented the further progress of the French and saved Westphalia and Hanover.

THE LAST YEARS OF THE WAR IN EUROPE

I. 1762.

By this time the Powers were exhausted, and the campaigns of the last years of the Seven Years' War are of comparatively little importance.

A. Eastern Germany.

(1) Silesia.

Difficulties between the Russians general, who retired to Poland, and London helped Frederick; but on

September 30th London captured Schweidnitz[†] and strengthened the Austrian hold on Silesia and Glatz.

(2) Saxony.

Prince Henry of Prussia maintained his position against Durn in Saxony.

(3) Pomerania.

The Russians invaded Eastern Pomerania and, in conjunction with the Swedes, took Kolberg on December 1st, 1761.

B. Western Germany.

February, 1761. Ferdinand of Brunswick invaded Hesse, but was defeated by Bougie near Göttingen on March 21st and compelled to retire from Hesse.

July 15th, 1761. Ferdinand defeated at Villinghausen Bougie and Soubise, who were attempting to invade Westphalia and Elmonsee.

I. 1762.

Although Prussia remained unconquered at the end of 1761 her position seemed desperate. Pitt had resigned on October 5th, 1761, and Durn refused to renew the subsidy to Frederick, whose financial position was hopeless: Frederick could muster only about fifty thousand men to resist a hundred and thirty thousand Austrians and Russians: the Empress Elizabeth was determined to conquer East Prussia and oust Frederick.

The death of the Empress Elizabeth on January 5th, 1762, and the peace signed between Frederick and Peter III on May 5th, 1762, and between Frederick and Sweden on May 22nd, not only saved Prussia, but by securing for her the support of the Russian armies gave her a great advantage over Austria, which, as France was unable to help, was now isolated.

A. The defeat of the Austrians.

July 22nd, 1762. Frederick visited the Austrians at Bucharest.

October 9th, 1762. Frederick recaptured Schweidnitz and secured Silesia.

October 26th, 1762. Prince Henry routed the Austrians at Feilberg.

B. Portugal.

1762. Joseph I of Portugal refused the demand of Charles III of Spain and Louis XV that he should join them against Britain. The Spaniards and French invaded Portugal, but the Portuguese resisted them successfully owing to the help of a British army under Lord Tyrnley.

References:

The Balance of Power (Hansell), Livingston, chap. ix.

History of France (Kitchin), Vol. III, Book VI, chap. v.

Cambridge Modern History, Vol. VI, chap. ix.

Stories of the Nations. Frederick the Great. Putnam, chaps. vii-ix.

Political History of England (Londesborough), Longmans, Vol. IX, chaps. xxvi-xxvii; and West, Vol. X, chap. ix.

COLONIAL AND MARITIME WAR

Both France and Great Britain regarded the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle only as a temporary truce; no serious effort was made to adjust differences in India and America; colonial differences led to war in 1754. The struggle for the colonies was of supreme importance to both countries, but both made the mistake of intervening in the war in Europe, partly because of Louis XV's false diplomacy, partly because of George II's interest in Hanover. Clarendon recognised the importance of the colonial struggle, but was unable to avoid the continuance of extensive French operations in Europe. The ultimate success of Great Britain was due

largely to Pitt's policy of subsidising Frederick II to fight the French in Europe and using the main forces of Great Britain in naval warfare and in the colonies.

The British navy had had valuable experience in the War of the Austrian Succession, but Newcastle had refused to make preparations for war, strong resentment was caused by press-gangs and the sea service had become slack. Pitt inspired the navy with his own spirit, and its great victories were due largely to his influence. Chatham's effort to strengthen the French navy, which had been neglected by Fleury, came too late.

1. America.¹

The claims of the contending parties in America were irreconcilable; the French asserted that the possession of a river mouth gave a right to the river basin; the British maintained that possession of the coast constituted a valid title to the hinterland without limitation of depth.

The French built a line of forts to prevent the English from extending over the prairie to the west of the Alleghany Mountains, and these were the scenes of important operations. Both sides used Indians, and the war was marked by gross cruelty to the conquered.

A. The outbreak of war.

Both countries claimed the Ohio basin, the British as *hinterland*, the French as a portion of the Mississippi river system and as a part of Louisiana.

April, 1754. Defeat of a weak Virginian force under George Washington by Duquesne at Fort Ohio. The final struggle between France and Britain on the continent of America had begun, although in Europe the two great powers were at peace.

B. The campaign of 1755.

A large-scale attack was planned by the British against Acadia, Crown Point, Niagara and Fort Duquesne.

¹ See also page 86.

July 26th, 1758. Braddock was defeated and slain on the Monongahela, near Fort Duquesne.

June, 1758. Capture of Acadia by Shirley; expulsion of six thousand Acadians who sympathised with the French.

Johnson failed to capture Crown Point, but strengthened the position of the English by building Fort William Henry; Shirley found it impossible to carry out his proposed attack on Niagara.

C. French successes in 1758 and 1757.

1758. A British attack on Niagara failed; Montcalm captured Oswego and built Fort Ticonderoga.

1757. Failure of a British attack on Louisbourg in Cape Breton; Montcalm took the British outpost at Fort William Henry.

D. The conquest of Canada.

(1) The capture of the forts, 1758.

Mainly owing to the vigorous policy of William Pitt, who took office in June, 1757, the colonial war received proper support. A repetition of the fourfold attack of 1754 met with success in 1758. Duquesne and Louisbourg were captured in July, but Lord Howe fell in an unsuccessful attempt to take Ticonderoga in July; in September the capture of Fortenac and Oswego cut the communication between Louisiana and Canada.

(2) Quebec, 1759.

The capture of Fort Niagara in July and the occupation of Ticonderoga and Champlain in August opened the way for an attack on Canada from the North. But before it could be made Wolfe, with a force which the British fleet had safely conveyed, entered the St. Lawrence, which Louisbourg no longer guarded, and scaled the Heights of Abraham on September 13th; Quebec surrendered on September 18th, 1759. Both

Wells and Montcalm were killed. The British kept Quebec, partly because their supremacy at sea prevented the French from sending reinforcements.

II. India.¹

A. Dupleix.

By 1750 the English realised that they could check the aims of Dupleix only by alliance with native princes. The Governor of Madras therefore supported Mohammed Ali against Chanda Sahib in the Carnatic.

1761. Robert Clive took Arcot, Chanda Sahib's capital, and skilfully defended it against vastly superior forces.

1764. Dupleix was recalled. His well-conceived policy had failed, partly because the tentative supremacy of Britain prevented him from getting adequate help from France; partly because of the cost of his operations and the financial difficulties of the French East India Company, which was £80,000 in debt; partly because France was anxious to maintain peace with Great Britain.

B. Bengal.

June, 1764. Surajah Dowlah, the Nawab of Bengal, took Calcutta and imprisoned 146 British subjects in the Black Hole.

1767. Clive, who had returned from England, determined that "so long as there was one Frenchman in arms in the Deccan, or in India, there could be no peace," took Chanderagore in March, 1767, and utterly routed Surajah Dowlah at Plassey on June 20th, 1767. Mir Jafir was established by the English as Nawab of Bengal, Orissa and Behar.

C. The Deccan.

Bussy, after the departure of Dupleix, had maintained French influence in the Carnatic and secured the friendship of the Sultan of Hyderabad.

¹ See page 22.

Lally, who reached India with reinforcements in 1783, foolishly recalled Bussy from Hyderabad.

1783. A British force from Bengal captured Muzaffpatnam and the Nizam at Hyderabad became a faithful ally of England.

D. The Carnatic.

Lally captured Fort St. David in 1783, but failed to take Madras.

1784. Lally was defeated by Coote at Wandewash and retired to Pondicherry.

January, 1761. Pondicherry surrendered to the British, and the French power in India was broken.

Dupleix's plans had compelled the East India Company to make counter alliances with native princes and to adopt a military policy in order to expel the French from India. Their policy had proved completely successful owing to the military skill of the British leaders, the strong support of Pitt and the control of the sea.

III. The Maritime War.

A. The *Lys* and *Alcide*.

June, 1783. The bad feeling between France and Great Britain which was caused by colonial rivalry was aggravated by the capture off the mouth of the St. Lawrence by Rowsemen of two French ships of the line, the *Lys* and *Alcide*, which formed part of a French fleet carrying reinforcements to Canada. British cruisers now attacked French merchant ships and before Christmas, 1783, took three hundred into British ports. Such high-handed action made war inevitable.

B. The opening of the naval war.

Both sides commenced military and naval preparations at Dunkirk and Brest for an invasion of England. A fleet was fitted out at Toulon to attack Minorca, and a British fleet under Byng was sent to defend it. Pitt

placed Temple at the Admiralty, and the navy rapidly improved.

June 28th, 1763. Richelieu captured Minorca, which Byng failed to relieve.

Charbourg was captured, but the British were repulsed from St. Malo in June and September, 1763. Gorée was taken in January, and Gaudeloupe in May, 1763.

C. Choiseul's plan, 1759.

The growing strength of the British navy and the serious losses the French had suffered in the colonies induced Choiseul to revive Belle-Isle's plan of an invasion of England. Transports were collected at Havre, Brest, Rochefort and Dunkirk, and fleets to protect them were fitted out at Toulon, Brest and Dunkirk. First, while maintaining communications with India and America, sent Boscawen to blockade Toulon and Hawke to watch Brest.

August 17th, 1759. The Toulon fleet, which had evaded its blockade, was defeated by Boscawen in Lagos Bay.

November 30th, 1759. Hawke defeated the Brest fleet under Conflans at Quiberon Bay.

February 28th, 1760. Thurot, sailing down Dunkirk to Ireland, was defeated and killed at Kinsale.

In 1760 all danger of an invasion had passed: the co-operation of the navy had facilitated the successful defence of Quebec and the capture of Pondicherry, and "Boscawen in the New World, Boscawen in the Mediterranean and Hawke in the Channel were masters of the sea." The capture of the small island of Belle-Isle in June, 1761, was noteworthy because it involved the conquest of a part of France.

D. Great Britain against France and Spain, 1763-1765.

January 1st, 1763. Bute was compelled to declare war against Spain owing to the Family Compact.

February, 1763. Rodney took Martinique.

August, 1762. The capture of Havana threatened the safety of Spanish treasure ships sailing from the Gulf of Mexico and supplied immense booty, including 63,000,000 in money.

September, 1762. Manila was captured and the Philippines passed to Great Britain.

References:

Cambridge Modern History, Vol. VI, chap. XV.

The Growth of the Empire (Jones), Murray, chap. IV-V.

Macaulay's Europe. Chm.

THE END OF THE WAR

By the end of 1762 Prussia, Austria, Saxony and France were anxious for peace. Frederick II said that his "army was joined . . . the old officers had perished . . . the young were of an age that did not promise great services." Much of Germany "was transformed into a wilderness." Saxony was desolate. Maria Theresa, realising at last that she could not regain Silesia, had made a truce in November, 1762, with Frederick II and deserted the Imperialist princes. France was defeated and humiliated.

But the British people, proud of their victories and of the vast amount of treasure secured by recent naval operations, strongly supported the continuance of the war in the hope of further conquests. Charles III wished to continue the war in the hope that Spain would retrieve her losses. But Chatham and Pitt were determined to make peace. The former won over Charles III; the latter gave such heavy bribes to Parliament that it accepted the preliminaries which had been signed at Fontenoyblanc on November 2nd, 1762; the Peace of Paris between Britain, France and Spain was signed on February 10th 1763.

I. The Peace of Paris.

A. Great Britain and France.

(1) North America.

France ceded Canada, Nova Scotia,¹ Cape Breton and all disputed land east of the Mississippi.

Britain gave French fishermen the right of fishing in the Gulf of St. Lawrence and off Newfoundland with the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, which were not to be fortified, as shelters and drying stations.

(2) The West Indies.

Britain kept Grenada, St. Vincent, Dominica and Tobago and restored to France Martinique, Guadeloupe and St. Lucia.

(3) India.

France received back the factories she had held in 1748, which were to be used only as trading and not as military stations.

(4) Europe.

France evacuated all territories of Hanover, Hesse, Brunswick and Prussia; gave up Minorca and promised to dismantle Dunkirk; received back Belle Isle.

(5) Africa.

Britain kept Senegal and restored Gorée to France.

B. Spain.

Spain gave up all claims to the Newfoundland fishing, allowed the British to cut lagwood in Honduras Bay, agreed to refer disputes as to politics to British Courts.

Spain ceded Florida to Great Britain, receiving in exchange Havana from Britain and Louisiana from France. Manila and the Philippines, captured while peace negotiations were in progress, were restored without territorial equivalent.

Spain evacuated Portugal and restored all the Portuguese colonies that she had conquered.

¹ Acadia.

C. Criticism.

- (1) Great Britain had got much.

She gained the eastern portion of North America, important colonies in the West Indies, supremacy in India and the command of the seas.

- (2) Great Britain ought to have got more.

Florida was not a fair exchange for Havana, the richest of the English conquests; Mexico was "simply thrown away." The restoration of Gorée the centre of the French slave trade, of Martinique a valuable naval station, of the right of access to the Newfoundland fisheries which were valuable training grounds for French sailors and of the factories in India encouraged the development of a new French naval and commercial policy.

- (3) France and Spain.

France was broken and humiliated. Spain had gained nothing but disaster from her intervention.

- (4) Frederick II.

He had disgracefully deserted Frederick II, who was left to make his own terms with Austria.

II. The Treaty of Hubertshurg, February, 1763.

February 15th, 1763. Prussia, Austria and Saxony made the Treaty of Hubertshurg, which restored the status quo ante bellum. Maria Theresa agreed that Frederick II should keep Silesia and Glatz; Frederick promised to vote for the Archduke Joseph as King of the Romans and to restore Saxony to its Elector, Augustus III of Poland.

III. The Results of the War.

The Seven Years' War, which had caused the death of nearly a million soldiers and wrought appalling havoc in Germany, led to very few territorial changes in Europe, but exercised an important influence on the relative position of the Great Powers.

A. Great Britain.

Great Britain secured a vast colonial empire and the corridors of the seas. "The definite establishment of the British power in India and the exclusive assumption of North America by the Anglo-Saxon race, are events of the most far-reaching and stupendous importance."¹ But the removal of the danger from France in America hastened the revolt of the American colonies which gave to France and Spain an opportunity of again challenging the naval supremacy of Britain.

B. France.

The unpopular Austrian Alliance of 1757, the weak of Madame de Pompadour and Louis XV, had humiliated France and reduced her for a time to a second-rate power largely dependent on Austria. It had shown the utter futility of Louis XV's government and demonstrated the worthlessness and inefficiency of the nobles whom the favour of the King and his mistress had put in command of the French armies. The war had thus brought France nearer to the Revolution.

C. Prussia.

Frederick II had kept his territory intact. For this he was partly indebted to good fortune; to the failure of Daun to follow up the victories the Austrians had won; to the jealousy between Austria and Russia; to the opportune death of the Empress Elizabeth; to the steady support of Pitt. But he would not have emerged victorious but for his own courage and great military skill.

The result of the war emphasized the position of Prussia as the leader of Northern Germany as opposed to Austria, the leader of Southern Germany.

¹ Lodge, *Nation Europe*, page 429.

D. Russia.

Russia had shown herself to be one of the leading powers of Europe, but the difference of interest between the Empress Elizabeth and Peter had weakened her efficiency. Under the strong rule of Catherine II she would make further progress.

References:

The Balance of Power (Hansell), Birmingtons, chap. ix.

Cambridge Modern History, Vol. VI, chap. ix.

Maria Theresa (Bright), Macmillan, chap. viii.

SECTION V

FRANCE AND GREAT BRITAIN
FROM 1763-1788.

FRANCE AFTER THE PEACE OF PARIS

I. The Position of France in 1763.

Largely owing to the rapidly growing power of Russia, the affairs of Eastern Europe became of great importance after the Peace of Paris. France, as the ally of Austria, might have been expected to intervene, but the loss of prestige she had suffered in the Seven Years' War, in which Britain said she had played an "extravagant and shameful" part, the conquest by Great Britain of most of her colonies and her financial embarrassment, which had been greatly increased by the war, and which was aggravated by a debt of 24,000,000 livres she owed to Austria owing to the Treaty of 1757, had reduced her to the status of a second, perhaps a third, class power. "Since the Treaty of Versailles, 1763, France had ceased to have a constructive policy."¹ She had sacrificed her interests to those of Austria; Austria and Sweden were her only allies, and she was practically in subjection to Austria. "France became almost completely integrated in the Hapsburg system."² She therefore took no effective steps to restore the alliance of Frederick II or to check the designs of Russia on Turkey or Poland, which were rendered still more dangerous owing to the treaty of "perpetual peace and alliance" made between Prussia and Russia in April, 1764.

II. Choiseul, 1763-1773.

The Count of Stainville, the French ambassador to Vienna, had been created Duc de Choiseul for his services in arranging the marriage between Louis (XVI) and Maria Theresa's daughter Marie Antoinette, which took

¹ Cf. Hall.

² *Ibid.*

place in 1770. He succeeded Bernis as Minister of Foreign Affairs and held this office from 1780-1791, when he played an important part in the diplomacy of the Seven Years' War.¹ From 1761-1766 he was Minister of War and Marine, his cousin, the Count of Choiseul, created Duc de Praslin, succeeding him as Minister of Foreign Affairs.

He maintained his position in spite of the death of his friend Madame de Pompadour in 1764, and again became Minister of Foreign Affairs in 1766.

A. Choiseul and Great Britain.

Choiseul refused to regard the Peace of Paris as a permanent settlement. He rightly told Louis XV that "Britain is the avowed enemy of your power, of your state," and determined to reorganise the French navy and to make more effective the Family Compact he had concluded with Spain in 1763 in order to recover from Great Britain the possessions the French had lost by the Peace of Paris. Grimaldi, the minister of Charles III, held similar views.

Realising how much France was weakened by financial embarrassment, Choiseul strove, with little success, to reform the finances. But he succeeded in reorganising the army. He fortified Martinique as a base for future naval operations in the West Indies. He greatly improved the efficiency of officers and crews, supplied the navy with new guns, accumulated large stores of war material. In 1770 the navy numbered "sixty-four ships of the line and fifty frigates,"² as compared with forty ships of the line in 1766.

B. Foreign policy.

Owing to his own preoccupation with Great Britain, to the dependence of France on Austria and to the failure of the secret diplomacy of Louis XV the foreign policy of Choiseul proved ineffective.

¹ Page III.

Basell.

(1) Russia.

France viewed with alarm the designs of Russia on Poland and Turkey.

a. Poland.

1764. An attempt to secure the support of Turkey for the candidature of the Elector of Saxony proved unsuccessful and showed that France had lost the powerful influence she had once exercised at Constantinople. Maria Theresa had offered no opposition to the designs of Russia in Poland,¹ and in 1768 France was compelled to acquiesce in the election of Stanislaus II.

b. Turkey.

Choleraul reversed the attempt to stir up Turkey against Russia and, largely owing to the skilful diplomacy of the French ambassador Vergennes, Turkey declared war on Russia in 1768. But when after the defeat of the Turkish fleet at Tchesme in 1770 the Sultan asked for French help, Choleraul could send him only 1800 men.

(2) Austria.

1763. Choleraul had never been strongly in favour of the Austrian alliance, which had been somewhat weakened by the accession of Joseph II, who, as the son of Francis² of Lorraine, resented the seizure of Lorraine. But France could not do without Austria, Russia strongly supported the alliance and the marriage, in 1770, of Louis, Duc de Berri, who had become Dauphin in 1765, to Marie Antoinette, bound France more closely to Austria.

(3) Prussia.

1788. Pitt returned to office and wished to form a coalition of Great Britain, Prussia, Russia, Sweden and Denmark to balance the combination of France, Spain and Austria and thus to prevent a new outbreak of war between Great Britain and France.

¹ Page 25.

² Page 26. The Emperor Francis I.

1768. Choiseul, still doubtful as to the permanence of the Austrian alliance, now renewed diplomatic relations with Prussia, but Frederick II refused to fall in with his plan. In 1769 the French ambassador was recalled from Berlin.

C. The fall of Choiseul.

Choiseul had aroused the resentment of Louis XV, who was jealous of the popularity of "Rei Choiseul," by supporting the Parliament against him; he had refused to shelter Louis' mistress, Madame du Barry. In 1770 war seemed likely to break out between Great Britain and Spain because the Spaniards had attacked the Falkland Isles, which had been occupied by a British force in 1766, and Louis, knowing Choiseul's attitude towards Britain, feared that France might be involved owing to the Family Compact.

December 16th, 1770. Choiseul was dismissed and D'Alguillon succeeded him as Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Choiseul was a patriotic statesman who appreciated the need of a close alliance with Spain against Great Britain, realised that the best interests of France were not promoted by the Austrian alliance, did something to restore the influence of France in Constantinople and succeeded in doing much to revive the French navy. He had skillfully arranged for the incorporation of Lorraine with France on the death of Stanislaus Leszcinski in 1766, and his acquisition of Corsica from Genoa in 1768 had given France an important naval base in the Mediterranean. His fall involved "the complete abdication of France as an efficient force in the international affairs of Europe."

Reference :

Cambridge Modern History, Vol. VI, chap. XXV.

FROM THE FALL OF CHOISEUL TO THE CLOSE OF THE WAR BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND FRANCE, 1770-1783

I. The Triumvirate.

On the dismissal of Choiseul the Government was carried on by the Triumvirate, Mazarin the Chancellor, the Abbé Terray, Minister of Finances, and D'Aiguillon, Minister for Foreign Affairs.

A. Domestic policy.

1771. The overthrow of the *Parlement* of Paris and the establishment of the "*Parlement Mazarin*"¹ destroyed "the only organ of liberty by which the nation could make itself heard"²; Terray's mismanagement increased the financial embarrasment of France.

B. Foreign policy.

The foreign policy of these years shows that France had lost most of her old influence in Europe, although Vergennes gained a striking success in Sweden.

(1) Poland.

1772. The First Partition of Poland,³ the maintenance of which as a barrier against Russia had been an important feature of French foreign policy, showed that the influence of France, which under Choiseul had made Austria reluctant to agree to the Partition, was no longer effective.

(2) Sweden.

1773. Largely owing to the skilful diplomacy of Vergennes, who went to Stockholm as French ambassador in 1771, Gustavus III successfully asserted the royal power⁴ and checked the designs of Russia, Prussia and Denmark which might have led to the dismemberment of Sweden.

¹ Page 46.

² Page 183.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Page 228.

(3) Turkey.

1774. Partly owing to the influence of Great Britain, Turkey, the old ally of France, was compelled to agree to the Peace of Kutchuk-Kainardji,¹ which gave Russia a footing on the Black Sea.

(4) Great Britain.

Great Britain repeatedly checked the designs of France. She refused to allow the *Triumvirate* to seize the Netherlands. She prevented France from sending a fleet to the Baltic to help Gustavus III by threatening to send a British fleet as well.

She prevented France from sending a fleet to help the Turks against Russia.

She showed herself friendly towards Russia, which France viewed with strong disfavor.

II. The Death of Louis XV.

May 10th, 1774. Death of Louis XV. The cry of "*Voilà le plaisir des dames*," with which his funeral was greeted, shows the contempt with which his subjects regarded him. His death was important mainly because "with Louis XV disappeared the power of royalty. It was never to return. The monarchy of '*deux siècles*' was henceforth condemned."²

III. Vergennes, Minister of Foreign Affairs, 1774-1787.

Charles Gravier, Comte de Vergennes, had acted as representative of France at Constantinople and Stockholm, and although not a great statesman was an experienced diplomatist. Like Choiseul, he aimed at recovering from Great Britain the colonies France had lost and at weakening the dependence of France on Austria. He took full advantage of the opportunity afforded by the dispute between Great Britain and the American colonies.

¹ Page 303.² Quoted by Dr. Hall.

A. The outbreak of war between Great Britain and the Colonies.

The removal of the danger from France¹ by the conquest of Canada made the colonies less dependant upon Britain. Considerable resentment had long been felt at the restrictions imposed by the Mother Country on colonial trade: the passing of the Stamp Act in 1765, involving the principle that Great Britain had the right to tax the colonies, which were not represented in Parliament, led to war between Britain and the colonies and to the issue on July 4th, 1776, of the Declaration of Independence.²

B. French sympathy with the colonists.

The cause of the colonists aroused great sympathy in France. Marie Antoinette strongly favoured it; Vergennes urged that France should help the colonists, partly because if Great Britain defeated them she would probably try to secure the remaining possessions of France and Spain in America, partly because if the colonists won assisted they would probably try to conquer the French and Spanish West Indies. But Louis XVI did not want war with Great Britain, and Turgot, who was making a heroic effort to restore the financial condition of France, his successor Necker and Maurepas strongly opposed French intervention, which would further embarrass the finances and would set a dangerous precedent by supporting rebels.

France did not immediately join in the war, and Turgot, through the French ambassador in London, pressed Great Britain to observe strict neutrality. He broke his promise. Facilities were given to Silas Deane to secure arms for the colonists from the royal arsenals; La Fayette, Noailles, Stour and many other volunteers were allowed to go and fight in the American army: the French Government secretly contributed one million

¹ Page 152.

² For details see *Notes on British History*, Vol. III, pages 681 et seq.

lives and persuaded Spain to give another; French privateers were encouraged to attack British merchant ships; Benjamin Franklin, who arrived in Paris in December, 1776, as envoy from Congress, made a most favorable impression owing to the simplicity of his dress and manners, while the followers of Voltaire and Rousseau enthusiastically welcomed him as the representative of men who were fighting for liberty. The unofficial help of France enabled the colonists to hold out in the early years of the war, in spite of the inefficiency, squabbling and strife which hampered their efforts.

IV. France, Spain and Holland at War with Great Britain.

A. Declaration of war.

October 17th, 1777. Burgoyne's surrender at Saratoga was mainly important because it seemed to show that Britain was weakening and encouraged France, and later Spain, openly to side with the colonists.

(1) France, 1778.

February 6th, 1778. France made an alliance with the United States.

The active support of France gave to the United States the sea power necessary to check communication between Britain and America, and without this the New England states would probably have been defeated, although an American republic might have been established along the Mississippi. The alliance gave France a chance of recovering the West Indies, which was her first object; she hoped also to use the occasion to weaken British influence in India and limit Hyder Ali to rise; she supported the United States as a means of securing these objects. The French share in the war, therefore, was almost entirely naval, and her operations in the West Indies were of great importance.

From a military point of view Vergennes acted wisely in siding with the United States; in view of the financial conditions of France, he made a grave mistake.

During the war Great Britain was hampered by the Gordon Riots of 1780 and the demand of independence for Ireland, encouraged by the success of the United States.

March, 1778. War broke out between Great Britain and France and operations took place in the English Channel, off Gibraltar, off the coast of North America, in the West Indies and in India.

(2) Spain, 1778.

June 16th, 1778. Spain declared war on Great Britain. Spain had tried to embarrass Britain by intriguing with Prussia, Russia and Hyder Ali. Her main object in declaring war was to recover Gibraltar and the colonies she had ceded by the Treaty of Paris.

(3) Holland, 1780.

December 20th, 1780. Great Britain declared war on Holland.

The republican party favored France and refused the request of Britain that Holland should give such help as was guaranteed by the treaties of 1628 and 1713; Paul Jones, the famous privateer, was allowed to take two captured British frigates into the Texel to refit and to leave with his prizes in spite of a strong protest from Britain against this breach of neutrality; the Dutch had supplied vast quantities of munitions of war to the United States, France and Spain. The Dutch held that neutral ships make neutral cargo except contraband of war and strongly resented the seizure of merchantmen which were taken into Spithead in 1779.

The immediate cause of the declaration of war were the discovery on a captured American ship of proof that Holland was now contemplating an

alliance with the United States and the desire to declare war before the Dutch joined the Armed Neutrality of the North.

(4) *The Armed Neutrality of the North, 1780*

Great Britain maintained her right to confiscate as contraband of war timber, hemp and pitch exported from Baltic ports to France and Spain for ship-building, and to search neutral vessels for contraband of war. Catherine II was well disposed towards Britain, but her minister Panin was friendly to Frederick II, who still resented his desertion by Baze in 1763.² Panin persuaded Catherine to refuse the offer of Britain to cede Minorca as the price of an alliance with Russia, and to issue in February, 1780, a declaration of the rights of neutrals. This asserted that neutral vessels may navigate freely from port to port and along the coasts of belligerents, that the flag covers the cargo except contraband of war, that blockades to be respected must be effective. Russia, Sweden and Denmark formed the Armed Neutrality of the North in August, 1780, and agreed to close the Baltic to belligerent vessels and, if necessary, to support their principles by force; it was joined later by Prussia, Austria and Portugal. Holland was prevented from joining it by the declaration of war by Britain in December, 1780.

The Armed Neutrality completed the isolation of Britain in 1780, when her position seemed desperate. But its results actually proved insignificant, and Catherine II declared that it was only an *Armed Folly*.

B. *Operations in the English Channel and North Sea.*

July 27th, 1778. Driven battle off Ushant between Kappel and D'Orvilliers. The result suggested that Great Britain had lost the sovereignty of the sea.

² Page 142. C. 4.

August, 1779. The French and Spanish fleets appeared off Plymouth and seemed likely to effect a landing.

[1779. Serious damage inflicted on British shipping by Paul Jones, who raided the coasts of Scotland and Ireland.]

January, 1781. Complete defeat of a small French force in Jersey.

August 8th, 1781. Driven back between Admiral Pariser and a Dutch fleet on the Dogger Bank.

C. Operations on the coast of North America.

1778. D'Estaing appeared off Sandy Hook, found New York too strong to attack and left for the West Indies.

October, 1779. D'Estaing co-operated with the Americans in an unsuccessful attack on Savannah in Georgia.

July, 1780. A French fleet landed 6000 men under Rochambeau in Rhode Island.

October, 1781. The success of De Grasse in landing troops in the Chesapeake, the union of the forces of Rochambeau and Washington led to the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown on October 19th, 1781.

D. Operations in the West Indies.

The French took Dominica (1778), D'Estaing took St. Vincent and Grenada (1779) and defeated an English fleet under Byrn.

February, 1781. Rodney took St. Eustatius from the Dutch, but failed to intercept De Grasse, who was sailing to the Chesapeake.

The French took Tobago in June and St. Eustatius in October, 1781; St. Kitts and Nevis in February, 1782. They then planned a joint attack with Spain on Jamaica which, with Antigua and Barbadoes, was all that remained to Great Britain in the West Indies.

April 12th, 1782. Rodney routed De Grasse at the Battle of the Saints and thus saved Jamaica, greatly

damaged the French navy and did something to restore the prestige Britain had lost during the war.

[May, 1781. The Spaniards completed the conquest of Florida.]

E. Gibraltar, June, 1779-February, 1781.

The Spaniards commenced the siege of Gibraltar, the recovery of which was their main object.

January, 1780. Rodney defeated the Spanish fleet and relieved Gibraltar.

April-June, 1781. Violent but unsuccessful bombardment by the Spaniards on land and sea.

[February, 1782. The French and Spaniards recapture Minorca. They now blockaded Gibraltar.]

September-October, 1782. Great attack by a French army of 40,000 men, under Crillon, and Spaniards with forty-nine ships of the line and ten floating batteries. Heroic and successful resistance of the garrison of 2000 men under General Elliott, who set the floating batteries on fire with red-hot cannon-balls. Howe brought food and reinforcements to the garrison and beat off the combined French and Spanish fleet which tried to cut him off.

F. India and the East.

(1) Hyder Ali.

On the news of the outbreak of war Warren Hastings seized all the French towns on the Coromandel coast, and when the French fleet under Suffren arrived it was hampered by lack of harbour. The smaller English fleet under Hughes checked Suffren's operations in Indian waters.

1783. The English were at war with the Mahattas, and Hyder Ali, instigated by the French and relying upon the co-operation of Suffren's fleet and De Bussy's infantry, overran the Carnatic. But Eyre Coote defeated him at Pollilur in 1785, and Porto Novo in

1781. Hyder Ali's son, Tippe Sahib, continued the war after the Treaty of Versailles, but lost the assistance of the French and made peace with England in 1784.

(2) The Dutch.

1795. On the outbreak of war Warren Hastings seized the Dutch settlements of Negapatam and Trincomali.

1795. Hughes failed to take the Dutch colony at the Cape of Good Hope.

C. General.

(1) The importance of naval power.

The war vindicated the naval policy of Choiseul, and the improvement of the French navy and the neglect of the British were important factors in the loss of America. The northern British army at Yorktown depended on the sea for its communications with the southern in Carolina, as overland communications were very difficult and dangerous. The loss of the naval supremacy of Britain separated her forces in America and enabled the French to bring effective aid to the Americans. The navy, said Washington, "had a casting vote in the contest."

The reorganisation of the British navy, leading to the Battle of the Saints and Howe's successful relief of Gibraltar, did much to restore British prestige and gained for Britain favourable terms in the Treaty of Versailles.

(2) Bavaria.

The occupation of Bavaria by Austrian troops in 1778 was partly due to the fact that France, an old ally of Bavaria, was fully occupied with the war against Britain. Vergennes, realising the need of using all the forces of France against Britain, refused the tempting offer of Austria to give up the Netherlands to France and by very skilled diplomacy and

the collaboration of Russia averted by the Treaty of Tilsit, what might have proved a European war which would have prevented France from concentrating on the struggle with Britain.

V. The Treaty of Versailles, 1763.

A. Conditions leading to the Peace of Versailles.

(1) Peace between Great Britain and the United States.

The war between Great Britain and the United States practically ended with the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown; but the naval war between Britain and her European enemies continued.

(2) Difference of interest between France and the United States.

A difference of interest now appeared between the Americans and the French. The Americans were satisfied with the independence they had gained, the formal acknowledgment of which was ensured by the accession to office of the Buckingham Whigs in March, 1782; they cared nothing for the aggrandizement of France and Spain, who, believing that the power of Britain was broken, desired to continue the war in the hope of further conquests.

Vergennes wished to prevent the establishment of a strong American state which might threaten the possessions of France in the West Indies; he did not wish the United States to conquer Canada; he proposed to confine the United States within the Alleghenies and to give the Mississippi valley to Spain as a compensation for the failure to recover Gibraltar; he tried to embitter the relations between the United States and Great Britain by inducing the former to demand and the latter to refuse a share in the Newfoundland fishing.

(3) Conditions leading to the Peace.

Roadey's victory and the successful defence of Gibraltar showed Vergennes that Britain was stronger

than he had thought ; the financial position in France was desperate ; Vergennes was anxious to make peace with Britain and, if possible, to secure her friendship in view of the growing danger from the designs of Russia and Austria on Turkey.

The discovery of French despatches which revealed the designs of Vergennes led the United States to sign, without the knowledge of the French, preliminaries of peace with Great Britain on November 30th, 1782. The war was concluded by the definitive Peace of Versailles, which was signed on September 3rd, 1783.

B. Terms of the Peace.

The contracting parties were Great Britain, France, Spain and the United States.

(1) The United States.

Great Britain acknowledged the independence of the United States ; recognised the Mississippi as their western boundary ; granted the right of fishing on the banks of Newfoundland.

(2) France.

France received her commercial establishments in India, St. Lucia, Tobago, Senegal and Gambia, the right of sharing in the Newfoundland fishery and the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon. Great Britain recovered Dominica, Grenada, St. Vincent, St. Kitts, Nevis and Montserrat in the West Indies, and Gambia in Eastern Africa.

(3) Spain.

Spain retained Minorca and West Florida and received East Florida. Britain, strengthened by the good understanding established with the United States in November, 1782, refused to give up Gibraltar. Spain gave up Providence and the Bahamas and allowed the British to cut logwood in Honduras.

(4) Holland.

Holland made a definitive peace with England in May, 1764, surrendered Negapatam but received back their other colonies. She recognised for the first time the right of Great Britain to trade freely in the Indian seas and thus relinquished the monopoly she had long exercised.

C. Criticism.

(1) Great Britain.

Great Britain had escaped lightly. But her prestige was lessened; she had lost some colonies; she had failed to ensure the safety of the loyalists in the United States; the Armed Neutrality of the North and the exploits of the French in the Channel weakened her naval supremacy.

(2) France.

France had had revenge on Great Britain and strengthened her influence in Europe. But the cost of the war added to her financial difficulties, and sympathy with America had taught the people lessons of republicanism which were soon to lead to revolution.

(3) Spain.

Spain had failed to get Gibraltar. She had gained Minerva and Florida, but the new American ideas were soon to cause trouble in her colonies. But she was the greatest gainer by the peace.

(4) Holland.

Holland was greatly weakened, and her misfortunes led to strong opposition to the Stadtholder which added to her weakness.

(5) Russia and Austria.

The war gave Russia and Austria an opportunity of carrying out their plans for aggression in Eastern Europe.

References:

- The Balance of Power* (Hassall), Basingstoke, chap. xii.
History of France (Kitchin), Vol. III, Book VI, chaps. vi, vii.
Cambridge Modern History, Vol. VI, chap. xi.
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RUSSIA FROM THE DEATH OF PETER THE GREAT TO THE DEATH OF THE EMPRESS ELIZABETH, 1725-1762

Alexis I

(1645-1676)



I. Catherine I, 1725-1727, Peter II, 1727-1730, Anne, 1730-1740,

A. The Austrian Alliance, 1756.

On the death of Peter the Great he was succeeded by his wife Catherine I, who had been crowned Empress at Moscow in 1724. Menchikov became all powerful, and the only important event of the reign was the treaty concluded with Austria on August 26th, 1756. This treaty provided that each power should send 30,000 men to help the other if attacked, and both should unite against Turkey. Russia guaranteed the Pragmatic Sanction.

B. Peter II.

Peter II, son of Alexis,² the son of Peter the Great, succeeded his grandmother, Menchikoff, whose daughter was betrothed to Peter, became Emperor and drove out of Russia Anna, daughter of Peter the Great, and her husband Charles Frederick of Holstein-Gottorp. Menchikoff was banished in 1727, and the chief power passed to Alexis and Ivan Dolgorouki, who represented the old conservative Russian party which resisted the introduction of Western civilization and wished to make Moscow again the capital of Russia.

C. The Accession of Anna, 1730.

On the death of Peter II the direct Romanoff succession was broken and the Dolgorouki and Golitsine secured the accession of Anna Ivanovna, Duchess of Courland, a niece of Peter the Great; they hoped to maintain the authority which the nobles had exercised in the two previous reigns, but on March 8th, 1730, Anna, with the support of the clergy, the lower nobility and the Vice-Chancellor Ostermann, overthrew the council of the nobles and re-established the absolute authority of the sovereign. The Old Russian party was broken; the Court was moved to St. Petersburg; discipline, which had been relaxed under Anna's predecessors, was enforced over the nobles; the army and navy were reorganised.

Unlike Peter the Great, Anna relied upon foreign ministers. Biren, a Courlander, became Grand Chamberlain; Münich, a German, Commander-in-Chief; and Ostermann, a Westphalian, Minister of Foreign Affairs. "For the first time in her history Russia was now dominated by foreigners."

Ostermann strongly favoured union with Austria; he refused Louis XV's offer of an alliance with France and helped to drive Stanislaus from Poland in 1733,³ and in

² *Notes on European History*, Vol. II, page 481.

³ Page 18.

1732 sent a Russian force to the Rhine and made Peter more ready to agree to the Third Treaty of Vienna.¹ He made a commercial treaty with Great Britain in 1732.

Thus the influence of France in Russia was weakened ; Russia had taken the first step towards the Partition of Poland, and the treaty of 1732 affected the Eastern policy of Austria and Russia for many years.

I. The Turkish War, 1736-1739.

The antagonism of the Russians to the Turks was partly due to the fact that the latter were the successors of the Tartars, the old enemies of Russia ; partly to the sympathy felt in Russia for the Greek Christians who were subject to Turkey ; partly to the hindrance afforded by the Turkish dominions to the expansion of Russia to the South-East and South.

The growing power of Russia needed an outlet on the Black Sea, and the Russians strongly resented the restoration of Azoff to Turkey in 1712.² The commerce of Southern Russia lay at the mercy of the Turks, who controlled the great rivers of that district ; the Tartars of the Crimea continually invaded Russia, and to check them Peter the Great planned the strong line of the Ukraine. The great wealth of the Crimea, which was likely to provoke the cupidity of Russia, led the Turks to protect it by the very powerful line of Persia. It was obvious that war was bound to break out between Russia and Turkey, and that while the line of the Ukraine might support a Russian advance the line of Persia would make an attack on the Crimea dangerous and costly. War with Turkey would involve Russia in difficulties with France, which enjoyed practically a monopoly of the Levant trade, with protection for Roman Catholics in Turkish dominions, and was determined to maintain the integrity of the Ottoman Empire. France viewed with alarm the development of Russia,

¹ Page 118. ² *Peter on European History*, Vol. II, page 478.

which Flurry declared "has mounted to too high a degree of power."

The Turks had been engaged in a war with Persia, and Anne, in January, 1722, made a treaty with the Persian leader Nadir Shah, and thus prevented the Turks from adopting the advice of the French ambassador that they should attack Russia during the War of the Polish Succession. The accession of the Russian candidate Augustus III to the throne of Poland in 1733 ensured the easy passage of Russian troops through Poland; the conclusion of the War of the Polish Succession left Russia free for other enterprises; she could confidently expect the co-operation of Austria in accordance with the treaty of 1728 and in return for help given in the late war. The appeals of Christian subjects of the Porte for protection against oppression, frequent Tartar incursions into the South of Russia and the help sent by Turkey to the opponents of Russia in Poland furnished reasons for war, and in July, 1736, Russia declared war on Turkey.

"The Turkish War of 1736-1739 marks the beginning of that systematic struggle on the part of Russia to recover her natural and legitimate southern boundaries, which was to last throughout the eighteenth century."¹

A. Russia and Turkey, 1736-1739.

1736. Lacy captured Asoff. Münich stormed the lines of Perschep and captured Kodakff. But Münich lost more than half his army through disease, and the Russians retired into the Ukraine.

1737. Münich captured Ochakoff and occupied Moldavia and Lacy ravaged the Crimea, but the Russians again retreated.

1739. Münich took Cherson and Isaur, but his further progress was checked by the desertion of the Austrians.

¹ *Cambridge Modern History*.

1. Austria and Turkey, 1737-1739.

Austria in 1737 renewed the treaty of 1728 and declared war against Turkey.

1737. The Austrians took and the Turks recaptured Niassa.

1738. The Austrians, who complained that they had not received proper co-operation from Munich, lost Szendrő and Orsova.

1739. The Turks won a great victory at Chocşia and besieged Belgrade.

2. Sweden and Russia, 1738.

Largely owing to the influence of France, which was anxious to weaken Russia, the "Hats"¹ effected a revolution in Stockholm and made a treaty with France in October, 1738: raised troops in Finland and, with the help of French subsidies, equipped a fleet for service against Russia; made proposals for an alliance with Turkey against the common enemy Russia.

3. The Peace of Belgrade, 1739.

(1) Austria and Turkey.

Charles VI, disheartened by defeat, anxious to leave himself free to promote the Pragmatic Sanction and ignorant of Munich's victory at Chocşia, accepted the mediation of France and made with Turkey the Peace of Belgrade in September, 1739.

Austria gave up Belgrade and Orsova, evacuated Serbia, Bosnia and Wallachia, but retained the Banat of Temesvár. Thus Austria gave up all she had gained by the Treaty of Passarowitz in 1738, her progress to the East was checked and she prevented the Russians from taking full advantage of the success they had gained.

(2) Russia and Turkey, 1739.

The danger of a rising of the Old Russian party led by the Dolgorukis and Golitsins, the impending

Swedish attack, the desertion of Austria, led the Russians to accept the mediation of Villeneuve and make the Peace of Belgrade with Turkey in September, 1739. Russia kept Azof, which was to be dismantled, but gave up all her other conquests and evacuated the Crimea and Moldavia. Russia was to maintain no fleet on the Black Sea.

(3) Sweden and Turkey, 1740.

To save Sweden from being crushed by Russia, Villeneuve negotiated an alliance between Sweden and Turkey in July, 1740.

E. General.

The Russian designs on Sweden and Turkey, and Austrian plans for extension along the Danube, were checked; the alliance between Russia and Austria was weakened; Villeneuve's great skill had accomplished in the Peace of Belgrade "the chief purpose of French diplomacy," and, in gratitude, the Turks in 1740 confirmed and extended the valuable privileges enjoyed by Frenchmen in Eastern Europe.

III. The Empress Elizabeth, 1741-1762.

A. The accession of Elizabeth.

Anne was succeeded by her son, Ivan VI, a baby, and Mîrîsh became chief minister. To embarrass Russia France induced Sweden to declare war in August, 1741, and La Châtaignie thwarted the attempt of Elizabeth, daughter of Peter the Great, to secure the throne.

December 4th, 1741. With the help of the Guards and the approval of the Russians, who disliked the foreign ministers of Anne, Elizabeth became Empress. Ivan VI was kept in prison until he was murdered in 1764. Elizabeth proved a business-like sovereign and showed wisdom in the choice of her advisors. She banished Ostermann and Mîrîsh to Siberia and made a Russian, Alexis Bekturov, Vice-Chancellor in 1741.

3. Alexis Beshumeff.

(1) Breach with France.

The help La Chétardie had given to Elizabeth was discounted by his attempts to protect Sweden after her defeat by the Russian general Lascy at Vilschastred in August, 1741, and to unite Denmark and Sweden and Sweden and Turkey against Russia. His designs were discovered and he left St. Petersburg in July, 1742.

August 17th, 1743. By the Peace of Åbo¹ Sweden and Russia were reconciled. Sweden ceded South Finland to Russia. The Peace was a severe blow to France.

(2) Beshumeff and France.

Beshumeff regarded France as the enemy of Russia because of her opposition to Russian plans in Turkey, Poland and Sweden. Opposition to France led to opposition to Frederick II, the ally of France, and to friendly relations with the opponents of France—Austria, Great Britain and Saxony.

(3) The War of the Austrian Succession.

During the War of the Austrian Succession Beshumeff in 1744, by order of Elizabeth, expelled La Chétardie, who had returned to St. Petersburg; protested against the aggression of Frederick II; tried, unsuccessfully, to secure the co-operation of Great Britain against Prussia; concluded a defensive alliance with Austria against Prussia on June 2nd, 1745; made an alliance with Great Britain by the Treaty of St. Petersburg,² 1747. The advance of a Russian army towards the Rhine alarmed the French and facilitated the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.

By 1748 Russia had secured great influence in Europe owing to the skilful policy of Beshumeff, who had formed alliances with Great Britain, Sweden and

¹ Page 222.

² Page 22.

Austria, saved Russia from foreign influence, ensured the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle and isolated France.

(4) The ruin of Beshinsoff's plans.

Beshinsoff made the Treaty of St. Petersburg in September, 1755, with Great Britain, in spite of the reluctance of Elizabeth, in the hope of "still further clipping the wings of the King of Prussia."

But the Treaty of Westminster, January, 1756,¹ made between Great Britain and Prussia before the Treaty of St. Petersburg was ratified, led to the union of France and Austria by the Treaty of Versailles in May, 1756.² Elizabeth now saw the need of making an alliance with France to check Prussia. On March 14th, 1756, Elizabeth decided to invite France, Sweden and Austria to unite with Russia "to reduce the King of Prussia within proper limits so that he might no longer be a danger to the German Empire." In January, 1757, Elizabeth acceded to the Treaty of Versailles.

Thus Beshinsoff's plans, which aimed at limiting the power of Prussia by an alliance with Great Britain and depended on enmity between France and Austria, were completely upset.

1768. Beshinsoff was deprived of his offices and dismissed from the Court.

C. Russia and the Seven Years' War.³

In January, 1757, Russia accepted the Treaty of Versailles and resumed diplomatic relations with France. Elizabeth, who firmly believed that the interests of Russia necessitated the humiliation of Frederick II, by her firmness succeeded in maintaining the union of France, Austria and Russia against Prussia, in spite of the growing reluctance of the two former to continue the war and in spite of the failure of inefficient Russian generals to take advantage of their opportunities of

¹ Page 154.

² Page 115.

³ Page 121.

crushing Frederick II. She insisted on the Russian campaign of 1761, which seemed likely to crush Frederick, but her sudden death on January 5th, 1762, saved Prussia from conquest.

Reference :

Cambridge Modern History, Vol. VI, chap. x.

THE ACCESSION OF CATHERINE II

I. Peter III.

Peter, son of Peter the Great's daughter Anne, who had married the Duke of Holstein-Gottorp, became Tsar on the death of his aunt Elizabeth. He was immoral and "resembled a grown-up child." He lost his life because he alienated his subjects and his wife.

Peter was essentially German and refused to adapt himself to Russian ways. Frederick II was his hero, and the sudden peace he made with Prussia on his accession was regarded as a dishonourable surrender to the enemy of Russia; he cared more for Holstein than Russia and replaced the Russian Guards by Holsteiners; he introduced Prussian discipline into the Russian army; he was anxious for Russia to declare war on Denmark for the sake of Schleswig.

Peter was a Lutheran; he gave great offence by ridiculing the Greek Church; he tried to abolish the use of candles and pictures, refused to allow Greek feasts to be observed at Court, tried to make the clergy discard their patriarchal beards; he attempted to weaken the Church by confiscating the property of the religious houses.

The enmity of the army and the Church nullified the popularity he had gained by some other measures. He had recalled from Siberia Biken, Münch and many others whom Elizabeth had banished; abolished torture; allowed nobles to travel. But he acted unwisely in

excepting the nobles, and not the peasants, from the duty of service to the State.

II. Catherine.

In 1745 Peter had married the Princess Sophia of Anhalt-Zerbst, who, wishing to identify herself with her new country, took the name of Catherine, adopted Russian customs, learned the Russian language and joined the Greek Church. Their married life was unhappy. Both took lovers, and Solikoff, and not Peter, was the father of Catherine's son Paul. They lived apart after 1765, and Catherine was in continual fear that Peter would divorce her.

A plot was formed to de throne Peter by Catherine and her lover Gregory Orloff; the Archbishop of Novgorod and the Greek priests supported it; the Russian Church carried it out.

July 9th, 1762. Catherine II was acknowledged as Empress by the Guards, who compelled Peter III to abdicate.

July 17th, 1762. Peter III was murdered by Alexei Orloff. Although Catherine had not actually ordered the murder she must share the guilt, for she inflicted no punishment on the murderer. But if "she had not accomplished the revolution of 1762 her life or liberty would have been extremely perilous."¹

But her position remained precarious. Ivan VI was still alive²; many believed that Peter III lived, and pretenders who claimed to be Peter received support; the Old Russians were ill disposed towards a German Empress. It was not until 1776 that Catherine felt that her position was firmly established.

References:

Modern Europe (Hassall and Dyer), Geo. Bell and Sons, Vol. IV, pp. 228-362.

Cambridge Modern History, Vol. VI, chap. 2.

¹ Meisvaine.

² He was murdered in 1764.

THE FIRST PARTITION OF POLAND, 1772

I. The Weakness of Poland.

A. Political anarchy.

The conditions of Poland were such as to make a strong government impossible. The Central Government was weak, and there was no feeling of national consciousness.

(1) The Monarchy.

The Monarchy was elective and not hereditary, and the concessions which the nobles wrung from each new monarch as the price of their votes weakened the royal power. The King had no real authority, for the heads of all departments of State were responsible not to him but to the Diet. Poland was in reality a republic in which the nobles had all power.

(2) The Diet.

Nobles alone could attend the Diet, but its efficiency was ruined by the liberum veto which allowed a single adverse vote to annul its decisions.

(3) The Right of Confederation.

The nobles had the right of forming confederations to enforce their views by armed force, if necessary.

B. Social conditions.

The nobles included the greater nobles, numbering about one hundred families, of whom about fifteen were conspicuous, and of these fifteen the most famous was "The Family" of the Czartoriskis; the lesser nobles, or *szlachta*, were divided into two classes, the lower of which numbered about 1,200,000 persons and were often very poor. The country was distracted by quarrels between different cliques of the nobles who, as a rule, were undisciplined and utterly selfish and too ready to call in foreigners to promote their personal ends.

There was practically no middle class; the peasants, who formed two-thirds of the population, were generally sunk living under feudal conditions at the absolute mercy of the nobles. The bitter hatred the peasants felt to their oppressors rendered impossible a united effort to save Poland and is the chief explanation of the failure of the country to resist the aggression of its neighbours.

C. Religion.

Poland was Roman Catholic, but there were a number of *Disidents* who included Protestants and members of the Greek Church. The *Disidents* had once enjoyed full civil rights, but the Diet of 1791 had excluded them from office.

D. Hostility of Russia and Prussia.

Poland had to face the hostility of neighbouring states in which powerful monarchs were establishing centralised governments.

(1) Russia.

Russia wished to become the chief Slav state in Europe and the champion of the Greek Church; it was therefore opposed to Poland, which was the most influential Slav country, strongly Roman Catholic, a barrier to the expansion of Russia and a hindrance to the communication of Russia with Western Europe.

(2) Prussia.

Prussia regarded herself as the successor of the Knights of the Teutonic Order, much of whose territory had been gained by Poland by the Peace of Thorn in 1466.¹ Poland still held West Prussia and thus divided Brandenburg from the Prussian provinces of East Prussia. Prussia as the supporter of Protestantism in Northern Germany was necessarily hostile to Catholic Poland.

¹ *Notes on European History*, Vol. I, page 284.

B. General.

"Poland had no ambassadors at foreign courts, the land had no fortresses, no navy, no roads, no arsenals, no treasury, no fixed revenues."¹

Poland represented "the legal organisation of debilitation"; it was utterly unable to resist the pressure of its powerful neighbours; after 1773 it was generally ruled by foreign kings imposed upon it from without; during the Seven Years' War it was occupied at pleasure by Russia. It was obvious that such a country was bound to break up, and the Partition of Poland had been foretold as early as 1668 by John Casimir.

The Election of Stanisław Poniatowski, 1764.

A. Russia and Prussia.

(1) Both support anarchy in Poland.

The development of Russia and Prussia sealed the doom of Poland. Both countries wished to extend their territory at the expense of Poland, which was utterly unable to offer effective opposition to either, partly because Russia and Prussia had long aimed at maintaining the anarchy of Poland in order to limit opposition to their own advances. Both countries supported the *Dissidents*; Catherine II posed as the champion of the members of the Greek Church, Frederick II of the Protestants.

(2) The alliance between Prussia and Russia, 1763 and 1764.

a. The isolation of the two countries.

1763. Frederick II and Peter III made a treaty to maintain existing conditions in Poland. After Peter's death Frederick and Catherine continued the alliance.

Great Britain, under Bute, had broken with Frederick; Austria desired to regain Silesia;

¹ Basch quoting von Moltke.

tain their taxes. The Diet refused, but was terrorized by Russian troops, and in 1797 decided that the *Dziświec* should be eligible for all offices, that the *liberum veto* should be maintained and that the monarchy should remain elective. Apparently Russia had defended religious liberty; really she had enslaved Poland.

The Catholic nobles now formed the Confederation of Bar; civil war broke out between the two Confederations. The Catholics appealed to France, the *Dziświec* to Russia and Prussia.

III. Diplomacy, 1798-1799.

A. Growing fear of Russia.

(1) Frederick II.

Russia had strengthened her position by a treaty of friendship, commerce and navigation with Great Britain in June, 1796. An attempt was made to win over Saxony, and Frederick II feared that the "system of the North" at which Catherine was aiming might prove dangerous to Prussia.

(2) Czarina.

Czarina sent reinforcements under Demouriez and money to the Confederates of Bar. Vergennes roused the Turks, who declared war unexpectedly on Russia in October, 1798, because the Russians had pursued some of the Confederates of Bar into Turkish territory and burnt the Tartar towns of Balta.

B. Austria and Prussia.

(1) Danger of a European War.

France, which does much to provoke the Turkish war, was an ally of Austria; Frederick, the ally of Russia, was bound by the treaty of 1794 to help her, if necessary, and Russia, which was busy in Poland and greatly embarrassed by the Turkish War, demanded his active assistance.

(2) *Desire for peace.*

Frederick feared that Austria might take advantage of another European war to recover Silesia; Frederick and Joseph II feared that if, as seemed likely, Russia, which had recently captured Cracow, should reconquer Poland she would become dangerous to Austria and Prussia; Joseph viewed with alarm the possible extension of Russian influence along the Danube, but was unwilling to make an alliance against Russia with Turkey, the traditional enemy of Christendom.

Neither Austria nor Prussia wanted war, which was contrary to the interests of Germany. Frederick said, "We are Germans, what does it matter to us if the English and French fight for Canada and the American islands . . . or if Turks and Russians seize one another by the hair." He therefore aimed at detaching Austria from France, which favoured the continuance of the Russo-Turkish War; rejected Catherine's proposals for a French alliance and desired to make an alliance between Austria, Russia and Prussia. But he was determined to take from Poland West Prussia and to make West and East Prussia and East Pomerania into a united kingdom.

(3) *Frederick ensures the Partition.*

February, 1772. Frederick made suggestions to Russia for a Partition of Poland.

February, 1772. The Austrians having massed troops on their frontiers entered Polish territory and took Zips, which Austria claimed as an old possession of Hungary. Austria had thus started the Partition of Poland. She was the first of the three Powers actually to occupy Polish territory.

August, 1772. A conference between Joseph and Frederick II at Neisse had no definite result except that Catherine II, fearing an alliance between Austria and Prussia, renewed the treaty of 1764 without requiring Frederick to help her against the Turks.

1769. The successes of the Russians on the Danube and the invasion of Moldavia and Wallachia made Austria more anxious to maintain friendly relations with Prussia and to stop the Russo-Turkish War. Consequent divergence of interest between Austria and France and separation of Western from Eastern Europe.

October, 1770-January, 1771. Frederick's brother, Prince Henry of Prussia, visited St. Petersburg, and his skilful negotiations made Catherine more willing to consider the question of the Partition of Poland.

By September, 1770, the Austrians had occupied portions of Poland to which they could advance no possible claim, and in July, 1771, Kaunitz made a treaty with Turkey to compel Russia to evacuate Moldavia and Wallachia.

The Russians had defeated the Confederates of Bar under Dąbrowski at Lwów in 1771, and although the latter retired Cracow later, Poland was now defenceless.

But Russia was now exhausted and asked for the co-operation of Frederick II in Poland. The fall of Chénouet in December, 1770, had deprived France of all influence; Catherine at the end of 1771 promised to give up the Danubian principalities if she received compensation in Poland, and thus showed her readiness to meet the wishes of Austria. Frederick, who had occupied part of West Prussia, skilfully seized the opportunity and induced Russia to agree to evacuate Moldavia and Wallachia and to join Austria and Prussia in the First Partition of Poland.

IV. The Partition.

A. Terms.

August, 1772. The First Partition of Poland was concluded "in the name of the Holy Trinity."

THE FIRST PARTITION OF POLAND, 1772 193

(1) Austria.

Austria received Zipa, which was incorporated with Hungary, Red Russia (or East Galicia) with Lemberg, and the northern portion of Little Poland.

(2) Russia.

Russia received Polish Livonia and White Russia along the rivers Dvina and Dnieper.

(3) Prussia.

Prussia received Kurland and West Prussia although not Danzig and Thorn. Poland was deprived of twenty-five thousand square miles (about one-third of its territory) and five million inhabitants (one-half of its population) by the Partition.

The Partition was accepted in April, 1772, by a bribed Diet, which to avoid the Russian veto had resolved itself into a Confederation, and finally settled in March, 1773, by treaty between Poland and her three adversaries which formally ceded the ceded lands, declared the Crown elective and tenable only by a native Pole, and appointed an Executive Council.

B. Criticism.

(1) A vast national crime.

For the action of Austria no justification could be pleaded. Frederick II. rightly asserted that West Prussia had once been under German rule, and Catherine maintained that White Russia, "with its rightly Russian and Orthodox population," was not really Polish. There was no doubt that the anarchy of Poland made her a troublesome neighbour. But the Partition was a great national crime.

a. An act of pure looting.

The doctrine of territorial sovereignty which had been accepted as the foundation of the public law of Europe by the Peace of Westphalia¹ was now set aside. "Force and con-

¹ *Notes on European History*, Vol. II, page 314.

spinecy were unblinkingly substituted for the idea of law in the relations of sovereign states."¹⁰ The policy which led to the Partition "developed naturally into a system of universal conquest, and thus . . . marks the beginning of the European revolution."¹¹

b. An expression of Absolutism.

The Partition was an expression of the belief that the will of the sovereign is law and thus represented the working out to its logical conclusion of the principle of Absolute Government of which Louis XIV had been the great exponent. It showed, too, an utter disregard for the principle of Nationality.

Marie Theresa, though compelled by her ministers to accept the Partition, declared that it was "a violation of all that has hitherto been held just and sacred." The Partition was strongly resented by other nations, but the commercial interests of Great Britain in the Baltic and the financial embarrassment of France prevented these countries from offering strong opposition. D'Aiguillon in vain tried to persuade Louis XV to attack the Austrian Netherlands; Great Britain refused to join France in a naval demonstration in the Baltic.

(c) A Russian mistake.

Russia had established her influence in Poland during the Seven Years' War, and under Stanislaus Poniatowski, who depended upon Russian support, Poland might easily have become a vassal state of Russia. By agreeing to the Partition instead of maintaining the integrity of Poland, Russia greatly strengthened her rivals Prussia and Austria, weakened

¹⁰ Dr. P. J. HIL.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

the slow descent in Eastern Europe, put difficulties in the way of her future extension, insured the future ag/morphy of Poland.

(2) The future of Poland.

Poland was not destroyed by the Partition, although the old idea of a Greater Poland extending from the Baltic to the Black Sea now became impossible. The misery from which Poland suffered later was due not to the Partition, but to her own inability to make such constitutional reforms as would have made her a strong and united nation.

References:

- The Balance of Power* (Hassall), Rivington, chap. xi.
A History of European Diplomacy (Hill), Longmans, Vol. III, chap. viii, Section II.
Cambridge Modern History, Vol. VI, chap. xxx.
States of the Nations. Poland (Marfil), Fisher Unwin.
Joseph II (Bright), Macmillan, chaps. i, ii.

RUSSIA AND TURKEY,¹ 1768-1792

Catherine II continued the traditional policy of Russia and desired to conquer the Crimea and thus to obtain an outlet on the Black Sea with free navigation for Russian vessels; to make the Danube the southern boundary of Russia; to take Moldavia and Wallachia from Turkey and bring them under Russian influence; to establish new states in Turkish territory which should be dependent on Russia; to add the Caucasus to Russia.

This policy was regarded with disfavour by other nations. Sweden, Poland and Prussia thought that the success of Catherine's plan would make Russia a dangerous neighbour, and although Frederick II had promised, by the treaty of 1768, to help Russia against Turkey, he proved unwilling to fulfil his

¹ See page 179.

poorly; Austria feared that if Russia conquered Turkey her own expansion eastwards along the Danube Valley would be checked; France, the old ally of Turkey, strongly objected to the Russian policy.

I. The First Turkish War, 1768-1774.

Catherine II had endeavoured since 1763 to rouse Greeks, Montenegrins and Serbians against the Turks, but tried by bribing Turkish ministers to avert intervention by Turkey during the struggle for the Polish Crown. But the Sultan, Mustapha III (1767-1774), was anxious to take advantage of the favourable opportunity, the Poles appealed to Turkey for aid and Vergennes, the French ambassador at Constantinople, urged Mustapha to help them.

A. The outbreak of war.

July, 1768. Some Russian troops entered Polish Confederates into Turkish territory and burnt the Tartar town of Balta. Catherine made apologies, but the growing success of the Russians in Poland, and particularly their capture of Cracow, alarmed the Turks; Vergennes' diplomacy proved successful, and by his advice Turkey declared war on October 6th, 1768, because "Russia has dared to destroy the liberties of Poland; has forced the Poles to recognise as King a person not of royal blood, nor designated by the will of the people."

The Polish and Eastern questions were thus combined; Turkey posed as the defender of political liberty in Poland, where Russia claimed to act as the defender of religion.

B. The War.

Both Turks and Russians were ill prepared for war, and Frederick II declared that it was a fight between the blind and the one-eyed. He was anxious to prevent Germany from being drawn in and wished to be free to

take advantage of any opportunity that the struggle between Turkey and Russia might afford him of promoting the interests of Prussia; he therefore did not send the help he had promised to Russia.

(1) *The Crimea and the Danubian Principalities.*

July, 1769. The Khan of the Crimean Tatars invaded New Serbia and showed the need of crushing these dangerous enemies of Russia.

September, 1769. The Russians occupied Moldavia and Wallachia and took Ehotin, Atsfi, Taganrog and, in October, Bucharest.

1770. Capture of Bender, Izmail and Akerman by the Russians.

1771. The Russians took Kaputziak and Tsoolop and secured the Crimea.

(2) *Greece.*

Russia had made treaties against Turkey with the Greeks of the Morea, and a fleet was sent from Cronstadt. The Greeks of the Morea rose in revolt, and the Russian fleet under Alexis Orloff annihilated the Turkish fleet at Tchesme on July 6th, 1770, mainly owing to the skill of Orloff's English sub-lieutenant.

(3) *Diplomacy.*

The success of the Russians alarmed Austria. The fall of Chocseul in December, 1770, had deprived Turkey of any chance of effective aid from France; Turkey accepted, but Russia rejected, the mediation of Austria and Prussia; Turkey therefore sought an alliance with Austria, and on July 6th, 1771, a secret treaty was made by which Austria agreed "to deliver from the grasp of Russia" Moldavia and Wallachia. Frederick II, who still abstained from active intervention in the war, fearing that the alliance between Austria and Turkey might lead to an extension of the war, induced Catherine to agree to

surrender Moldavia and Wallachia, and Austria to abstain from war with Russia, by giving each a share in the Partition of Poland.²

(4) The end of the war.

The removal of the danger of Austrian intervention and the settlement of the Polish question strengthened the Russians, and Catherine appointed a new Khan of the Tartars who acknowledged her authority. She now aimed at securing Constantinople, and the Turks therefore refused to agree to terms of peace offered at Bucharest in 1778.

The defeat of the Russians, who were compelled to cross the Danube, the dangerous revolt of the Cossacks of the Don under Pugacheff, and a rising of the Tartars seriously embarrassed Catherine; but the Russians under Romanoff were successful in the campaign of 1774, and the Turks were compelled to agree to the Treaty of Kutchuk-Kainardji.

C. The Treaty of Kutchuk-Kainardji, July, 1774.

(1) Terms.

Russia ceded to Turkey Bessarabia, Moldavia, Wallachia and the islands of the Archipelago, but kept Anafi, Eubœdia and Kertack and Yenikale in the Crimea, and gained the right for Russian ships of free navigation in Turkish waters and the use of Turkish harbours.

The Tartars of the Crimea were declared independent, subject to the Sultan only as head of their religion.

Religious liberty was granted to the Greek subjects of the Porte, and Russian subjects were allowed to visit Jerusalem and there to practice the rites of their religion.

Poland, the immediate cause of the war, was not mentioned.

² Page 194.

(3) Criticism.

The treaty was a great triumph for Russia. The independence of the Tartars was merely a step towards their subjugation by Russia; the possession of Kabardia gave Russia a hold on the eastern coast of the Black Sea and in the Caucasus; Russia gained an outlet to the sea in the South, and the right of sailing through the Bosphorus and Dardanelles gave her free access to the Mediterranean; Russia had established her position as the official champion of the Greek Church and thus secured the right of perpetual intervention in Turkey.

The treaty "marks the definite beginning of the Eastern Question" and of the Slav crusade against Turkey which has profoundly influenced later history. But it was only a beginning; Catherine still hoped to dismember Turkey, to form a Greek Empire for her nephew Constantine and a kingdom of Asia for Potemkin. These aims necessitated close agreement with Austria and tended to weaken the connection between Russia and Prussia.

Austria took advantage of the weakness of the Turks to secure the Bukovina in 1775, and it seemed as if Turkey was doomed to dismemberment. It survived because the jealousy of the Eastern Powers prevented any one of them from dealing the final blow.

II. The Annexation of the Crimea, 1783.

A. Relations with Prussia and Austria.

(1) Prussia.

Frederick II., realising that if war broke out between Austria and Russia an alliance with Turkey would prove valuable for Prussia, was opposed to any partition of Turkey, had refused to intervene in the recent war and now proposed that an alliance should be made between Prussia, Russia, Poland and Turkey. Poland, a strong supporter of the Prussian alliance, did

not favour Catherine's schemes against Turkey and was succeeded as Foreign Minister by Catherine's latest lover, the giant Gregory Potemkin, who was bitterly hostile to Turkey. His appointment in 1782 marks the end of the Russo-Prussian alliance of 1782.

(5) Austria.

Joseph II resented the intervention of Vengeman in the Bavarian quarrel¹ which weakened the friendship between France and Austria.

He wished to secure the support of Russia for his schemes of annexing Bavaria, of reviving the old glories of the Holy Roman Empire, of strengthening Austrian influence in Italy. Kautzka saw that the alliance between France and Russia, which had been an important factor in the Peace of Tschern, 1779,² was contrary to the interests of Austria.

June, 1781. Alliance between Austria and Russia. Joseph II promised not to oppose Catherine's designs on Turkey and to help Catherine if the Turks invaded Russia.

B. The Crimea, 1783.

The Tartars of the Crimea were divided into two parties, one seeking to maintain the independence accorded by the Treaty of Kutchuk-Kaimardji, the other to establish the authority of Russia in the Crimea.

1778. Potemkin sent an army under Suvoroff, who restored the Khan Schakin, whom the Turks had deposed, and persuaded Schakin to acknowledge Catherine's supremacy.

April, 1783. A Russian manifesto announced the annexation of the Crimea and Euxine. Schakin, who resisted, was banished; the opposition of the Tartars was crushed and at least 30,000 were massacred. Joseph had not assisted in the Russian operations as he was bound to help Russia only if the Turks invaded her

¹ Page 374.

² Page 372.

territory, but he had intimidated Turkey by sending troops on her frontier. Potemkin, called the "Taurian,"¹ became Governor-General of the Crimea and Kuban and Grand-Admiral of the Black Sea. "Now at last Russia had won a firm and sure southern frontier."

January, 1784. By the Convention of Constantinople the Turks agreed to the acquisition of the Crimea by Russia.

C. Catherine's journey to the Crimea, 1787.

Catherine still hoped to carry out her plans for the establishment of a Greek Empire for her grandson Constantine, for whom she obtained Greek tutors, while instruction in Greek was provided in Russian military schools.

Under Potemkin's brutal rule the Crimea was devastated and the population rapidly declined.

1787. Catherine, accompanied by Joseph II, who travelled incognito, visited the Crimea. To hide the nakedness of the land Potemkin erected temporary villages along her route and filled them with peasants wearing holiday attire and brought from a distance. Catherine was impressed by the apparent prosperity of the Crimea and rejoiced to find that a naval port had been established at Sebastopol, only two days' journey from Constantinople.

III. The Second Turkish War, 1787-1792.

Neither Catherine nor Joseph wanted war with Turkey; the former feared that such a war would induce Prussia and Sweden to attack Russia, the latter that it would prevent him from dealing with difficulties that had arisen in the Austrian Netherlands. But Catherine's recent journey anticipated the Turks, who had resented the Russian occupation of the Crimea and feared that the Russians, who had established their influence over Georgia in 1783, would seize the whole of the Caucasus.

¹ The Crimea was formerly called the Tauric Chersonese.

A. The Declaration of War.**(1) Turkey.**

August 10th, 1787. Turkey declared war on Russia and hoped to secure the help of Prussia, Great Britain and France, all of whom viewed with alarm the growing power of Russia which seemed likely to affect, in particular, British commercial interests in the Mediterranean. But the death of Vergennes, on February 18th, weakened France, which, while remaining neutral in the war, still had strong sympathy with Turkey.

(2) Austria.

February 6th, 1788. Joseph II declared war on Turkey. He hoped to recover Moldavia and Wallachia and to regain the position Austria had lost by the Peace of Belgrade, 1739.¹

(3) Sweden.

June, 1788. Sweden declared war against Russia.

B. The war.**(1) 1788.****a. The Austrians.**

The Austrians overran Moldavia and took Chotin, but failed to take Belgrade and were defeated at Slutina. The Swedish War prevented Russia from giving more than moderate help to Austria.

b. The Russians.

The Russians defeated the Turkish fleet in the Liman, and Suvaroff took Ochakov, December 17th, 1788.

(2) 1789.**a. The Austrians.**

The Austrians and Russians routed the Turks at Fekeny, July 31st, 1789, on the Rymnik on

¹ Page 180.

September 22nd, 1788; London, the Austrian general, captured Belgrade on October 8th, 1788, and overran Serbia; Guberg took Bucharest and the Austrians secured the passes into Wallachia.

b. The Russians.

The Russians routed the Turks at Ismail on September 20th, 1789, and Tobuc, and took Bender on November 14th.

The overthrow of Turkey seemed imminent; it was saved by the intervention of the Triple Alliance of Prussia, Holland and Great Britain and by the revolt of the Austrian Netherlands.

February 28th, 1790. Death of Joseph II.

August, 1790. Treaty of Varas between Russia and Sweden.

September, 1790. Truce of Galgova between Austria and Turkey.

(c) 1790-1791.

After Austria had withdrawn from the war the Russians, no longer in danger of Swedish attack, continued their successes. Sevastopol took Ismail on December 22nd, 1790; an indecisive naval battle was fought off Yenikale in July, 1791, but the Russians defeated the Turkish fleet at Sebastopol in September. In 1791 Prince Repnin routed the Turks at Mactchin and the Russians overran part of Rumania and defeated the Turkish fleet off Kara Buruz.

C. Negotiations.

(1) Prussia.

Frederick William II welcomed the Turko-Russian war, which he thought would enable him more easily to add to Prussia Danzig, Thorn and Pozna. He made an alliance with Turkey in February and with Poland in March, 1790. Prussia had been strengthened

by her recognition in 1285 as leader of the Hanse-bond, had made an alliance in 1288 with Holland and Great Britain, which viewed with alarm the extension of Russia, and were on friendly terms with Sweden. Hungary and the Austrian Netherlands were in revolt against Austria. A war party in Prussia tempted war with Austria in the hope of securing part of Bohemia and Moravia, and there seemed a danger of a European war. But the Pope rejected the designs of Prussia on Danzig and Thorn. Leopold adopted a conciliatory policy; Great Britain and Holland were strongly opposed to any extension of the war.

a. Hartberg's scheme.

Hartberg was anxious to make Prussia the mediator of Europe. He therefore induced Frederick William II to abstain from active intervention on behalf of Turkey, asserting that Prussia had helped Turkey by compelling the Austrians to keep on their northern frontier, to guard against a Prussian invasion, troops which might have fought against the Turks.

He proposed that Turkey should give up Moldavia and Wallachia to Austria, and the Crimea and Bessarabia to Russia, receiving in return a European guarantee of the integrity of the rest of her territory; that Austria should give Galicia to Poland, who should give Danzig and Thorn to Prussia; that Russia should restore part of Finland to Sweden, who should give to Prussia the part of Pomerania she still held. Leopold refused to surrender Galicia and threatened to renew the old alliance of Austria with France; the Maritime Powers refused to sanction Hartberg's selfish scheme; the Turks refused to give up Moldavia and Wallachia.

B. The Convention of Reichenbach, July, 1790.

Frederick William II was now isolated, saw the impossibility of carrying out Hartberg's scheme and, with the assistance of the Triple Alliance, made with Leopold the Convention of Reichenbach, July 27th, 1790. By the Convention Austria agreed to give back all her conquests and make peace with Turkey, to restore their old constitutional rights to the Austrian Netherlands; Prussia recognised the supremacy of Austria in the Netherlands, gave up her designs on Düsseldorf and Thoen, but was to receive compensation in Poland if Austria secured any Turkish territory.

The Convention, a triumph for Austria and the Maritime Nations, was a great blow for Prussia: "it marks the first retreat from the policy of Frederick the Great and the first step in the decline of Prussia."¹ Her allies Sweden, Poland and Turkey came under the influence of Austria, which, in spite of the Convention, crushed the rebellion in the Netherlands and secured Oranva from Turkey in 1791; it led to the participation of Prussia in the Revolutionary Wars and the Second and Third Partitions of Poland; it made European interference in Prussia possible, and thus probably changed the whole course of the French Revolution; it ended the Austro-Russian alliance and deprived Russia of her only ally at a time when she was at war with Sweden and Turkey; it helped to re-establish Austrian supremacy in Germany and averted for many years the inevitable struggle of Prussia and Austria for supremacy in Germany. The Convention of Reichenbach forms "marco a turning-point in the history of Europe."

¹ Lodge.

(2) Austria.

Austria made a truce with the Turks at Giugureo in September, 1790, and peace was made, through the mediation of the Triple Alliance, at Sistova in August, 1791. Turkey kept Moldavia and Wallachia, but Austria by a secret agreement obtained Orsova.

(3) Russia.

The Triple Alliance urged Catherine II, like Austria, to surrender her conquests; her refusal to surrender Ochakoff led Prussia and Great Britain to prepare for war, but Pitt gave way, and by the Treaty of Jassy, January 24, 1792, Russia made peace with Turkey and received Ochakoff, the fortifications of which were to be demolished; the Dniester became the boundary between Turkey and Russia. But Catherine's wider scheme of expelling the Turks from Europe, establishing a Greek Empire at Constantinople and a Christian Balkan Kingdom had failed.

References:

Cambridge Modern History, Vol. VI, chaps. XIX, XX; Vol. VII, chap. II.

The Balance of Power (Hassall), Livingstone, chap. II.

Revolutionary Europe (Morris Stephens), Livingstone, chap. III.

Russia (Moffitt), Urwin, chap. IX.

Joseph II (Bright), Macmillan and Co., chaps. I, II.

THE SECOND AND THIRD PARTITIONS OF POLAND

I. The Second Partition.

A. Poland.

(1) A favourable opportunity, 1788.

By the First Partition in 1772 Poland became dependent on Russia, and the patriotic party, which

aimed at reforming the constitution, as the first step towards securing national freedom, could do nothing owing to the alliance between Prussia and Russia. Their position was improved by the termination of that alliance in 1781; by the conclusion in 1781 of a new alliance between Russia and Austria, which was more friendly to Poland than Prussia; by the declaration of war against Russia by Turkey in 1787 and Sweden in 1788; by the formation of the Triple Alliance in 1788,¹ which aimed at checking the ambition of Russia and Austria.

(4) *The Reforms of 1788.*

The Four Years' Diet, 1788-1792, met in October, 1788; formed itself into a Confederation to avoid the *liberum veto*; compelled Russia, now hard pressed by Turkey and Sweden, to withdraw the troops she had quartered in Poland since 1772; and resolved to make a treaty with Prussia.

(5) *Delay.*

Unfortunately the work of reform was delayed by King Stanislaus' fear of Russia; by Polish distrust of Prussia's designs on Danzig and Thorn; by the opposition of the friends of Russia to constitutional reform; by the reluctance of the nobles to admit to the Diet the representatives of towns. By March, 1790, when the treaty with Prussia was concluded, the Polish alliance had become of little value to Prussia because the break-up of the alliance between Austria and Russia had strengthened the position of Prussia, which now again opposed constitutional reform in Poland.

(6) *The Reforms of 1791.*

Obstruction delayed reform, but King Stanislaus on May 3rd, 1791, by a clever surprise, induced the Diet to accept a new constitution which provided that

¹ Page 208

the Crown should be hereditary in the family of the Elector of Saxony; that the King should control the army and the executive; that the Diet should have the right of legislation; that the liberum veto and right of Confederacy should be abolished; that Roman Catholicism should be the established religion, but that all creeds should be tolerated.

B. The attitude of the Powers.

(1) Russia.

Catherine II strongly resented the reforms; the conclusion of the Peace of Värmland with Sweden in August, 1790, and the preliminaries of peace with Turkey in August, 1791, left her free to deal with Poland; but the alliance of Austria and Prussia concluded by the Treaty of Reichenbach in July, 1790, and the fact that the two allies agreed in 1791 to guarantee the integrity of Poland, made her hesitate to take action. She therefore tried to induce Prussia and Austria to take up arms against France to prevent them from intervening in Poland.

(2) Prussia.

By the treaty of 1790 Frederick William II had guaranteed the integrity of Polish territory; in July, 1790, in the preliminary treaty with Austria he had guaranteed "the free constitution of Poland"; in May, 1791, he congratulated the Diet on its "firm and decisive conduct."

But Frederick William really disapproved of the union of Poland, which was contrary to Prussian interests and was determined to get Danzig and Thorn. The possibility of war with Russia in May, 1791, compelled him to maintain a friendly attitude towards Poland, but the removal of this danger led him to show hostility which was in striking contrast to his previous attitude and was resented as gross perfidy by the Poles.

(2) Austria.

Leopold II welcomed the prospect of the establishment of a strong Roman Catholic state in Poland which might check Russia and Prussia and would support Roman Catholicism in North Germany.

C. Russia attacks Poland.

In the early part of 1792 the position of Poland became precarious. Austria strongly resented the acquisition by Frederick William II of Anspach and Bayreuth, which strengthened the influence of Prussia in Southern Germany; on receiving the treaty with Austria in February, 1792, Frederick William guaranteed only "a free constitution for Poland"; Catherine II made peace with the Turks at Jassy in January, 1792; Leopold II, the chief supporter of the new order in Poland, died on March 1st, 1792; and on April 20th, 1792, the Girondin ministry declared war against Austria and invaded the Austrian Netherlands.

May, 1792. The Russian party in Poland, led by Raszkowski and Potolski, made the Confederation of Targowice to restore the old constitution and asked for Russian intervention; two Russian armies invaded Poland.

The Poles appealed for help to Prussia, but Frederick William II absolutely refused to fulfil his promises; Austria was too busy with the French war to intervene; the Poles offered heroic resistance, but the Russians defeated Pototskowsky at Zielona on June 18th, 1792, and Kosciuszko at Dubienka on July 17th, and in six weeks conquered Poland. The reformers were exiled; the Diet cancelled the recent reforms and restored the old constitution.

D. The Second Partition.

(1) The weakness of Austria.

Austria, which now abandoned Poland, and Prussia agreed with Russia that the old constitution of Poland

should be restored. Both sought a share in the spoil; Prussia offered to sanction the exchange of the Austrian Netherlands for Bavaria if Austria would allow her to annex part of Poland; Austria refused to agree to this offer, which meant an immediate extension of territory for Prussia but not for herself, unless Prussia surrendered Anspach and Bayreuth as the price of her agreement.

But the outbreak of the war with France compelled Austria to rely on Prussian help, and Prussia declared war on France on July 16th, 1793. The defeat of the Austrians by Durnitzer at Jemappes on November 6th enabled Frederick William, by the threat of withdrawing from the French war to compel Austria to allow Russia and Prussia to make a separate agreement about Poland.

January, 1793. Frederick William sent a Prussian army under Hildendorff into Poland to "crush French revolutionary doctrines in Poland."

(2) Russia and Prussia make the Second Partition, 1793.

January 23rd, 1793. Russia and Prussia made the Second Partition of Poland by which Russia received Eastern Poland, including Minsk, Podolia, Volhynia and Little Russia; Prussia received Danzig, Thorn, Posen, Gnesen and Kalisz. Russia got four times as much territory and twice as many new subjects as Prussia; Austria got nothing except a vague promise that Russia and Prussia would facilitate the exchange of the Netherlands for Bavaria; Prussia promised to continue the war with France.

The Diet, meeting at Grodno, refused to sanction the Partition; Prussia suspected Austria of encouraging the opposition of the Diet.

September 25th, 1793. The "Silent Diet," although the patriots had been excluded, and although those present had been heavily bribed and were overawed by Russian soldiers, refused to discuss the

question of Partition. Their silence was taken as consent.

November, 1793. The Diet made a treaty of alliance with Russia and formally annulled all recent measures of reform.

(2) Criticism.

The Partition revealed the shameless selfishness of the three Powers and their utter distrust of one another.

Austria strongly resented the Partition, which had been made without her approval and which brought Russian territory into touch with Austrian dominions. She was particularly incensed with Prussia, and the Partition increased the feeling of hostility between these two Powers. She declared that she did not assent to the Partition, but was too busily engaged in the Netherlands to take active steps.

Russia had strengthened her influence in Poland. King Stanislaus became "a mere agent of the Russian minister at Warsaw," and the treaty of November, 1793, would facilitate further aggression on what was left of Poland. Turkey feared that Russia, strengthened by her recent acquisitions, would seek a further extension of territory in the South, but was too weak to go to war again with Russia.

The contest for the spoil of Poland had weakened the efforts of the Allies in the West. It had led Frederick William II to recall his troops after the battle of Valmy for service in Poland, if necessary, and prevented the Allies from following up the successes they gained in the early part of 1793¹ and from taking advantage of dissension in Paris and the revolt in La Vendée.

II. The Third Partition of Poland.

A. The Polish rising.

The Poles bitterly resented the recent Partition and formed secret societies to regain their independence and

¹ Page 287.

establish the desired constitutional reforms. But for success foreign help was essential and France and Turkey were unable to help, and, although Sweden promised assistance, she was not strong enough to resist Russia and Prussia.

March, 1794. An order of the Russian general to disarm Polish troops was the immediate cause of the rising. Cracow drove out its Russian garrison; Kosciuszko returned and routed the Russians on April 4th, 1794, at Radzice; the Russians were driven out of Warsaw on April 19th, and Wilna.

B. The Intervention of Prussia.

Prussia was exhausted by the strain of war in the West and in Poland and desired to withdraw from the war against France, but was induced to promise, by the Treaty of The Hague on April 19th, 1794, to supply a large force against France which was to be paid for by subsidies from Great Britain.

The rising in Poland prevented Frederick William from carrying out his undertaking, and "France was able to seize the Netherlands and to drive the Allies from the left bank of the Rhine, because the two great military Powers of the Coalition fixed their gaze, not on the fate of Brussels or Mainz, but on that of Cracow and Warsaw."¹

Frederick William II entered Poland, routed Kosciuszko at Rawka on June 6th, 1794, and took Cracow on June 19th. Kosciuszko retreated to Warsaw, which, owing to the lack of energy with which Frederick William besieged it, held out successfully.

Frederick William, fearing that a rising in the newly annexed territory would endanger his communications, retired from Warsaw on September 6th, 1794.

C. The Russians take Warsaw.

The Russians under Suwaroff invaded Poland. Kosciuszko was routed and captured by Posen at

¹ *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. VII, page 344.

Maciejowice on October 10th, 1794; *Sieradz* took *Praga*, a suburb of *Warsaw*, on November 4th and massacred the inhabitants; he entered *Warsaw* on November 8th.

Russia, not Prussia, had finally suppressed the Polish rising; but Prussia, in spite of her failure at *Warsaw*, had broken the strength of the rising; Austria had invaded Poland from the South, but had had no fighting.

D. The Third Partition.

(1) Agreement between Austria and Russia.

The Russian emperor gave Catherine the power of deciding the terms of settlement. The possibility of further wars against Turkey, the fact that Poland was now crushed, her personal dislike of Frederick William II, her resentment at his action in withdrawing her services in Poland from which had been fighting France in the West, made her decide to give to Austria, and not to Prussia as in 1794, a large share of the spoil, including *Cracow*, which the Prussians still held.

In January, 1795, Russia and Austria made a secret treaty by which they agreed to help each other in case of war with Prussia or Turkey; Austria accepted the settlement of 1794, and Russia promised to help her to get compensation from France or Turkey for the United area she received by the Second Partition of Poland.

(2) Prussia isolated.

Prussia was now isolated; her prestige and power had been diminished by her failure in Champagne in 1794 and her retreat from *Warsaw* in 1794, and suspicion of the unfriendly designs of Russia and Austria led her to conclude the Treaty of *Basil* with France on April 5th, 1795.

E. Terms of Partition.

October 24th, 1795. It was finally arranged in the Third Partition of Poland that Russia should receive the

land between Galicia and the lower Dniepr, including about two thousand square miles; Austria received Cracow, which the Prussians surrendered with great reluctance, and the rest of Galicia, about one thousand square miles; Prussia received Warsaw and the land between the Bug and the Niemen, about seven hundred square miles. By the final treaty of January 26th, 1797, the three Powers asserted "the necessity of abolishing everything which may recall the memory of the existence of the Kingdom of Poland."

The hostility of her three great neighbours rendered the downfall of Poland inevitable. But its ruin was accelerated by the impossibility of uniting all classes in the defence of their country. The resistance to the Partition was the work of a few nobles and priests supported by the small burgher class; the serfs, the great majority of the population, were too ignorant and degraded to assist their efforts; in Poland there was no united national effort such as ensured the success of the French Revolution.

[March, 1795. Riven, the last Duke of Courland, abdicated in favour of Catherine and Courland became a Russian province.]

References:

- Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. VII, chap. XVII.
Revolutionary Europe (Moses Stephens), Birmington, pp. 121-122, 153-155.
Modern Europe (Dyer and Bassett), George Bell, Vol. V, chap. XVII.

CATHERINE II

Catherine II continued the work of Peter the Great and aimed at extending Russian territory and at making Russia European.

I. Territorial Expansion.

Catherine desired to increase the territory of Russia in order that Russia might become one of the great Powers of Europe, and to assert the strength of Russia in the interests of Russia.

A. New territory.

By the Treaty of Kutchuk-Kainardji¹ in 1774 and Janj² in 1792, by the three Partitions of Poland in 1772,³ 1793⁴ and 1795,⁵ Catherine had added about two hundred and twenty thousand square miles and about seven million inhabitants to the Russian Empire. She said she had "come to Russia empty handed, but had won Turkey and Poland as her dowry."

She did not succeed in crushing Sweden, in expelling the Turks from Europe and establishing a Greek Empire on the ruins of Turkey, in bringing Persia under Russian influence.

But she emphasized the position of Russia as the leading state on the Baltic, broke up the Kingdom of Poland, which hampered her extension to the West, and secured for Russia an outlet on the Black Sea and free access to the Mediterranean.

B. Foreign policy.

The territorial schemes of Catherine, who aimed at crushing Sweden, Poland and Turkey, determined her foreign policy.

(1) Possible opponents.

These schemes were sure to lead to strong opposition from other countries. The extension of the power of Russia threatened the safety and hindered the expansion of Prussia on the Baltic, of Austria along the Danube. France, the old ally of Sweden, Poland and Turkey, resisted any attempt to weaken them.

¹ Page 200.

² Page 156.

³ Page 208.

⁴ Page 212.

⁵ Page 216.

(3) Prussia and Austria.

By skilfully playing off Prussia against Austria Catherine lessened the danger from these two Powers which were in a position to do her most harm. From 1744-1763 she made the alliance with Prussia the main feature of her foreign policy; in 1781 she concluded an alliance with Austria, as the support of Austria was necessary for her designs on the Crimea; in 1790 she made the Treaty of Jassy and so ended the war with Sweden which was seriously hindering her efforts against Turkey; she favoured Prussia in the Second Partition of Poland in 1793, and Austria in the Third in 1795. She did all she could to ensure the active participation of Austria and Prussia in the war against Revolutionary France because such participation would leave her free to carry out her designs in Eastern Europe.

(4) Great Britain.

She realised that Great Britain could help her but little, as Britain was concerned mainly with the development of her colonial policy and with her struggle with France. The interests of Britain in Eastern Europe were mainly commercial, and although in the early part of her reign Catherine maintained friendly relations, the countries did not enter into close alliance. Towards the end of her reign Catherine's relations with Great Britain were less friendly; she took an active part in forming the Armed Neutrality of 1780, although she refused to support the cause of the Americans; her policy in the east was opposed by the younger Pitt in 1792.¹

(5) France.

Although Catherine was strongly affected by the "Philosophes,"² friendly relations were impossible with France, which opposed her Eastern policy.

¹ Page 208.² Page 81.

Catherine, as an absolute monarch, strongly disapproved of the French Revolution, but she did not join the Coalitions against France; when Prussia and Austria took up arms she seized the opportunity to further her schemes in the East and this helped the Revolution by compelling Prussia and Austria to devote some of their attention and energy to the East.

(2) *Russia.*

She made Russia a great power in Europe. "I came to Russia," she said, "a poor girl with three or four dresses, and Russia has dressed me richly. But I have paid her back with Anafi, the Crimea and the Ukraine." The new status of the country was clearly shown during the War of the Bavarian Succession, 1778, when both Prussia and Austria appealed to her and both thanked her for her mediation, which was the main factor in concluding the Treaty of Teschen in 1779.

II. Internal Policy.

A. Centralised absolutism.

By 1778^a Catherine's position as absolute monarch was secured.

(1) *The bureaucracy.*

In so great a country the administration depended largely upon the *Chin* or bureaucracy, but the bureaucracy was dependent on the will of the Sovereign, and Catherine "in the main was her own Minister, Chancellor and Imperial Council."

(2) *The Church.*

The Church was rich and powerful. Its hostility had hampered Peter the Great and contributed to the overthrow of Peter III^b; monasteries were numerous, and the Church had a million souls on its vast estates. Catherine regularised the Church lands, which,

together with the serfs, became the property of the State, from which monks and priests heretofore received their incomes.

(3) *The nobles.*

The nobles who attended Catherine's brilliant Court received the highest appointments in the State and army, and faithful service was rewarded with large grants of land. They were exempted from taxation, exercised uncontrolled authority over their serfs and were responsible to the State for the due performance by the serfs of military service. Catherine's policy ensured the continuance of the nobility as a privileged class and the leaders of society, but nobles, as such, were of no political importance.

(4) *The extension of Great Russia.*

Catherine's plan of absolute monarchy involved the extinction of local privileges which limited the exercise of the central authority.

By the appointment of Imperial governors in 1763 she strengthened the direct power of the Crown over the Baltic provinces; in 1764 she abolished the office of Hetman of the Ukraine and appointed an Imperial governor and governing bodies; in 1778 she superseded the Cossack Constitution of Sich and appointed Imperial instead of local authorities.

The task of "Russifying" Poland and completing the "Russification" of the Ukraine was not completed in Catherine's life.

B. *Attempts at reform.*

(1) *Local organization.*

The organization of efficient local administration, dependent ultimately on the monarch, was essential for the proper government of Russia.

1775. Catherine divided Russia into Provinces each under a Governor-General. Provinces were divided into circles, and circles into districts, each with its

own local organisation, which was to be exercised by the whole people acting in Estates. The new arrangement improved local government, but, owing to the power of the bureaucracy and to the great increase in the local power of the nobles which resulted from the Letter of Grace of 1785, did not result in the establishment of effective local government based on the co-operation of all classes.

(4) Legislative reform.

The laws were numerous and confused, and the need of a regular codification was obvious. Catherine appointed a Legislative Commission elected by representatives of each class of the people except the Church and the serfs on private estates. For the guidance of the Commission she published in 1787 Instructions, or Nakazy, laying down the general principles she wished it to follow.

The adoption of the principle of popular election in Russia aroused great interest, but the Turkish War of 1788¹ interrupted proceedings and the Commission, which did not meet after 1793, accomplished nothing.

(5) Serfdom.

Catherine, the disciple of Voltaire and Beaumont, professed to favour the abolition of serfdom and she improved the lot of serfs on the royal domains. But the influence of the nobles prevented her from improving the condition of serfs on their estates; the authority of the nobles over their serfs was strengthened, and the serfs were not so much subjects of Russia as chattels of the nobles. Serfdom was introduced into Little Russia in 1783. The rebellion of Pugachev (1773-1775), which greatly added to the difficulties of Catherine in the Turkish War, was partly a rising against their lords of serfs, many of whom were brutally treated; partly a rising of Cossacks against Russian rule.

¹ Page 186.

C. Education, Science, Literature.

Catherine founded some schools and proposed to establish a State school in every circle; she promoted public health by founding hospitals and allowed herself to be inoculated against smallpox. Under her patronage Russian literature flourished; a national drama was created; Karskoff wrote epic poetry; Vain artists; Derzhavín wrote poems to commemorate the military successes of the reign.

D. General.

(1) Obstacles to reform.

But Catherine's reforms met with only a small measure of success. The dishonesty of officials, the privileges of the nobles, the deadweight of the bureaucracy, the ignorance of the peasantry, proved serious obstacles.

(2) Reaction.

Catherine strongly opposed the French Revolution and the domestic policy of her later years was reactionary; in 1773 she adopted a policy of protection in place of the more liberal policy she had hitherto followed in regard to commerce; Radishoff was exiled to Siberia for revealing the deplorable state of the peasants in his *Journey from St. Petersburg to Moscow*, 1790, and Novikoff, who had done much to promote education, was imprisoned for expressing opinions which Catherine deemed revolutionary.

(3) Finance.

The cost of Catherine's foreign policy in men and money was exorbitant; the annual expenditure rose in her reign from seventeen to about seventy million roubles, and lack of money hindered internal development.

III. Character and General Policy.

A. Catherine became Russian.

Catherine, although a German, identified herself with Russia. On her marriage she adopted a Russian name and became a member of the Greek Church¹; she always wore Russian dress; she thoroughly understood the character of her people. Russians alone received from her the highest posts in the bureaucracy and the army.

She adopted and continued the policy of Peter the Great, and the extension of Russian territory and influence was her main object; she thus made herself the head of the national party.

Her attempt to "Europeanize" Russia, largely by copying French manners, was only partially successful. The nobles, who came under the direct influence of her Court, showed the effect of Western ideas and civilization; but the great majority of her subjects remained essentially Russian and "lived on in their old stolid barbarism, separated by a broad gulf from their sovereigns and the upper strata."²

Her foreign policy proved successful, she greatly extended Russian territory and established Russia as a great European power; but she sacrificed of her foreign policy was attained at the cost of the internal reform that Russia badly needed.

B. A political woman.

Catherine showed a remarkable grasp of political problems and was a mistress of the art of government. Her policy is marked by the keenest intelligence and the highest courage, and she allowed neither personal feelings nor moral scruples to divert her from her main object. The skill with which she played off Prussia and Austria showed her exceptional ability as a diplomatist; she saw clearly the opportunities afforded by the anarchy in Poland; she skillfully used the conditions arising out of the French Revolution to further her own designs.

¹ Page 126.² *Cambridge Modern History*.

She displayed great wisdom in the selection of her ministers and generals, but they remained her servants and carried out her policy.

C. A student.

Catherine was a great reader. She said, "I always had a book in my pocket"; she subscribed to the *Encyclopædia*¹ and read much of Plutarch, Tacitus, Voltaire, Bayle and Montesquieu; she carried on a learned correspondence with Voltaire, Diderot and D'Alembert. She was a prolific writer; published works on history and political economy; wrote poetry, dramas, *Mémoires* and the *Nouveaux*; she proved a generous patroness of contemporary Russian authors.

But the teaching of the French philosophers had little practical effect on her internal policy; the French Revolution partly accounts for the reactionary policy of her later years; the admirer of Voltaire-called Fedishoff.

D. Personal character.

She was fond of display and maintained a splendid Court; her manners were charming; her flagrant immorality had no effect upon her policy, but may partly explain her estrangement from her son Paul. But she treated her grandchildren with the greatest kindness and gave generous rewards to faithful servants.

References:

- Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. VI, chap. xix.
Historical Studies (Merivale), Longmans, p. 48.
Russia (Mortili), *Stories of the Nations*, Curwin.

THE HATS AND THE CAPS IN SWEDEN

I. General Conditions, 1792-1793.

A. The Constitution.

The Constitution, nominally democratic, gave supreme power to the nobles and greatly hampered the authority of the King.

¹ Page 84.

The Diet (or *Riksdag*), over which the President of the Estate of Nobles presided, consisted of the four Estates of Nobles, Clergy, Burghers and Peasants. The nobles, the only privileged class, included many poor members who openly sold their votes. The real authority was vested in a Secret Committee which consisted of fifty nobles, twenty-five clergymen, twenty-five burghers and ten peasants, and exercised supreme executive, judicial and legislative powers.

B. Count Bernard Horn.

Many Swedes, and particularly the turbulent nobles, were anxious to regain Livonia and other territory ceded to Russia by the Peace of Nysski in 1721,¹ and to make Sweden again a Great Power. For help in this design they looked to France, which favoured the aggrandisement of Sweden as a counterpoise to the growing power of Russia. Many of this party, which was led by Count Gyllenborg, had served in the French army and strongly advocated war with Russia.

Count Bernard Horn, the Chancellor, succeeded for many years in keeping peace, which enabled Sweden to regain the strength it had lost in the war against Russia which ended in 1721; he refused to maintain the old relations with France, kept peace with Russia and secured the friendship of Great Britain.

Owing to his sleepy policy the nobles nicknamed Horn and his supporters the "Night-Caps," or "Caps," and themselves took the name of the "Hats," from the three-cornered hats worn by people of rank.

II. The Supremacy of the Hats.

A. The Diet of 1738.

St. Severin, the French ambassador, by wholesale bribery secured a majority of votes in the Diet; the Hats became supreme, Gyllenborg replaced Horn as

¹ *Notes on European History*, Vol. II, page 451. Vol. III, page 22.

Chancellor, Tessin became Marshal of the Diet, very few "Cops" were elected to the Secret Committee.

B. War with Russia, 1741.

(1) Hostility of the Hats towards Russia.

In 1733 the Hats concluded a treaty with France, who agreed to pay an annual subsidy of 300,000 crowns to maintain the Swedish army and navy; the murder, in 1738, by Russian officers of Stothelm, the Swedish representative who was travelling to Turkey, increased the hostility of the Swedes to Russia; a treaty between Sweden and Turkey was signed on July 13th, 1740.

The outbreak of the War of the Austrian Succession and the death of the Empress Anne of Russia in 1740 seemed to provide a good opportunity for the Hats to declare war against Russia; France advocated war, hoping that Swedish intervention would prevent Russia from invading Prussia.

August 4th, 1741. An extraordinary Diet declared War against Russia.

(2) The War.

The Hats failed to make adequate preparations for war; Wrangel was routed by the Russians at Vilmanstrand in 1741.

The new Empress Elizabeth¹ offered to make peace on the terms of the Peace of Nystäd, but refused the demand of the Swedes for the restoration of all Finland and part of Carolia; La Chastelle, the French ambassador, unsuccessfully supported the Swedish demands at St. Petersburg.

The war was renewed and the Russians overran Finland in 1742.

(3) The Peace of Åbo.

The alliance between Great Britain and Russia, December, 1742, and the possibility that close rela-

¹ Page 134.

tions would be established between Russia, Prussia and Poland, alarmed the Swedes, who approached Denmark with the offer of a close alliance and the cession of Frederick, Prince of Denmark, to the throne of Sweden. The fear of a union between Denmark and Sweden made Elizabeth, who wished her nephew, Adolphus Frederick of Holsat-Gottorp, to succeed the aged King Frederick I, willing to grant favourable terms.

August 7th, 1743. By the Peace of Åbo Elizabeth restored all of Finland, except that to the east of the river Kymmene; Sweden again accepted the terms of the Peace of Nyssid and received Adolphus Frederick as Crown Prince. Thus Sweden "for ever renounced the hope of recovering the provinces situated on the Gulf of Finland."² Christian VI of Denmark seemed likely to take up arms to ensure the succession of his son Frederick to the Swedish throne, but Russia promised substantial aid to Sweden and war was averted.

August, 1744. The Crown Prince Adolphus Frederick married Louise Ulrica of Prussia, sister of Frederick the Great.

April, 1751. Death of King Frederick I. Succession of Adolphus Frederick.

C. The reign of Adolphus Frederick, 1751-1771.

(1) The Diet secures greater power.

The Diet took advantage of the weakness of the King and compelled him to sign all documents submitted to him; a popular rising, strongly supported by the ambitious Queen, was easily suppressed in 1756, and the Diet compelled the King to accept a statement that in free states "Kings merely exist as effigies."

² *Dyer and Hassel.*

(3) The Seven Years' War.

1757. The Hats, at the instigation of France, declared war against Prussia. Sweden was to supply 30,000 men, in addition to the garrison. The declaration was a grave mistake. After five unsuccessful campaigns the Hats were glad to make peace on the *status quo ante bellum*, after spending 25,000,000 and losing 60,000 men.

1763. The Cape retired office owing to discontent caused by the failure of the Hats.

References:

Cambridge Modern History, Vol. VI, chap. xiii.

GUSTAVUS III OF SWEDEN, 1771-1792

Gustavus III, the son of Adolphus Frederick and Louisa Ulrika of Prussia, was born in 1746. He was a man of charming manners and great intelligence and an excellent French scholar, but the opposition of both Hats and Caps had prevented him from receiving any training in politics or the science of war. But he deplored the degradation of the monarchy and determined to restore the old power of the Crown and to save the people, with whom he was very popular, from the tyranny of factions.

I. The Revolution of 1772.

A. General conditions.

Neither the Hats nor the Caps seemed able to save Sweden. The Caps held power from 1763-1768. During this period the "Reduction Diet" by drastic economy greatly improved the financial state of the country, but provoked the resentment of many who suffered by its sound policy. In 1766 The Caps agreed to join a league of Northern Powers which Catherine II proposed to establish and which would have made Sweden dependent

as Paris. The refusal of the Cops of the King's request to call a special meeting to relieve the growing distress of the people led to the resignation of Adolphus Frederick, which lasted from December 18th to December 31st, 1788.

1788. The Cops were overthrown, in spite of larsh bribery by Russia; but the successful Hats, who owed their success largely to French help, utterly failed to provide the reforms which were urgently necessary.

2. The accession of Gustavus III, 1771.

(1) Gustavus gets French help.

February 15th, 1771. Sudden death of King Adolphus Frederick. Gustavus returned from Paris, whither he had gone to consult D'Aligillon, who urged him to bring about a monarchical revolution in Sweden; Louis XV promised to pay him a subsidy of a million and a half livres a year and sent the accomplished diplomatist Vergennes to help Gustavus to break the power of the Hats.

(2) The coronation.

May, 1772. At his coronation Gustavus deceived the Diet by accepting the Act of Security, by which he promised to make no change in the constitution. In a remarkable speech he urged all parties to combine to make Sweden "the happiest nation in the world."

The Cops had again secured a majority on the death of Adolphus Frederick and acted in accordance with the policy of Catherine II, who, in the interests of Russia, wished to perpetuate anarchy in Poland and Sweden. Their attempt further to limit the King's power by a new form of Coronation Oath made Gustavus determine on immediate action.

(3) The Revolution, August, 1772.

August 18th, 1772. The Diet occupied the streets of Stockholm with an armed force.

Gustavus, who had secured the support of the army,

surrounded the meeting-house of the Diet with artillery, and on August 21st "the terrified Riksdagmen crept, by twos and threes, into their places, between rows of glittering bayonets."¹ In a scathing speech Gustavus sternly rebuked the Cops for their dealings with Russia, and in terror they unanimously accepted the New Constitution he had prepared.

(4) The New Constitution.

The New Constitution replaced a tyrannical and ineffective republic by a powerful limited monarchy. It gave the King control of foreign policy and the army, the sole right of appointing and dismissing ministers and of summoning and dissolving the Diet. But the consent of the Estates was required for new legislation, for offensive war and for the levy of special taxes to defray the cost of war. The King promised not to leave Sweden without the consent of the Senate, but the Senate was to be nominated by him. The special privileges of the nobles were abolished. "The odious names" of "Rata" and "Cops" were no longer to be used.

The Revolution sharply checked the designs of Catherine II and saved Sweden from dismemberment by Russia, Prussia and Denmark. Russia and Denmark prepared for war with Sweden, but her war with Turkey² diverted Catherine's attention; Frederick II was anxious to avoid a European war which might deprive him of his recent acquisitions in Poland; Great Britain, which objected to the domination of the Baltic Sea by Russia, favoured the maintenance of Swedish independence. These causes saved Sweden from foreign attack and enabled Gustavus III to carry out his policy of reform.

II. The Reforms of Gustavus III, 1772-1792.

A. Financial.

John Lilienskrantz, appointed Vice-General in civil

¹ *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. VI, page 771.

² Page 138.

and ecclesiastical affairs, in six years redeemed the paper currency the State had issued and paid off the debts accumulated by the State during the last fifty years.

B. Judicial.

An inquiry into judicial administration led to the dismissal of five out of eight judges and to the reform of statutes.

C. Military and Naval.

The system whereby commissions involved payment of a bounty to the pretious holders was abolished; Finland was fortified and a fleet of galleys suitable for action in its shallow waters was constructed; Sveaborg was strongly fortified and new docks constructed at Karlskrona; important additions were made to the fleet; the artillery was reorganised and three camps established for manoeuvres.

III. The Russian War.

Although Sweden joined with Russia in forming the Armed Neutrality of the North in 1780, the danger that Russia would treat Sweden as she had treated Poland and the attempts of Russia to stir up the Swedish people against the monarchy led Gustavus to prepare for war against Russia.

The Diet of 1788 refused to make certain reforms the King desired; the extravagance of Gustavus and his Court led to increased taxation; bad harvests caused much distress.

Sweden had concluded a treaty with France in 1784; a treaty was made with Turkey, which sent subsidies to Sweden.

June, 1788. Gustavus III, without the necessary sanction of the Estates, declared war on Russia, hoping that as Russia was at war with Turkey the war would ensure the restoration of Livonia and Curla to Sweden.

would unite all Swedes against the common enemy and put an end to the growing discontent at home.

A. Unsuccessful campaign in Finland.

July, 1788. Gustavus landed in Finland and took Catherine by surprise. But the drawn naval battle of Hogland on July 17th, and a mutiny of Swedish officers who objected to an offensive war which had not been sanctioned by the Diet, prevented Gustavus from attacking St. Petersburg, which was held by a weak garrison.

August, 1788. Gustavus returned to Stockholm.

B. The unsuccessful invasion of the Danes.

The Russians were blockading the Swedish fleet in Svensborg and commanded the Gulf of Bothnia and the Cattegat.

September, 1788. The Danes invaded Sweden and advanced towards Gothenburg. Gustavus, unable to rely on his army, raised an army of *Fälsmän* from the peasants of Dalecarlia and saved Gothenburg. Great Britain and Prussia, anxious to preserve the balance of power in the Baltic, put strong pressure on the Danes, who made the Treaty of Uddevalla on November 26, 1788, and evacuated Sweden.

C. The Act of Union and Security, 1789.

His victory over the Danes enabled Gustavus to force the Diet to accept the Act of Union and Security by which the King gained the power of making peace, war and alliances, and the Diet met only by royal summons.

The Government now became a despotism instead of a limited monarchy, and the Act of Union and Security carried the Revolution of 1772 a step further and, like it, saved Sweden from Russia.

D. The End of the War.

Gustavus again invaded Finland and won a great naval victory at Svensborg in July, 1790. The difficulties of the Turkish War and the knowledge that

Austria was preparing to make peace with Turkey induced Catherine to make peace with Sweden; Gustavus found that he could not rely upon Great Britain and Prussia; both Catherine and Gustavus were strongly opposed to the French Revolution, and the latter desired to make peace with Russia in order that he might be free to resist it.

August 15th, 1790. The Peace of Värälä was made between Sweden and Russia on the basis of the status quo ante bellum.

October, 1791. A Treaty of Friendship and Union was made between Sweden and Russia.

Gustavus III had maintained the integrity of Sweden, but had not secured the return of any of her old territory.

IV. Gustavus III and the French Revolution.

Gustavus, now freed from all danger from Russia and moved largely by sympathy for Marie Antoinette, did his utmost to overthrow the Revolutionary party in France.

But all his schemes failed. Catherine II decided that neutrality was her best policy; Leopold II refused to agree to a joint invasion of France which Gustavus suggested; Gustavus went to Aix-la-Chapelle in 1791 to arrange with French despots for an invasion of France and had a share in the arrangements for the flight of Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette to Varennes; Catherine refused to join Gustavus in invading Normandy and blockading the Rhine.

V. Assassination of Gustavus III, 1792.

The nobles, who resented the loss of their privileges which Gustavus' policy entailed, made a conspiracy against him.

March 16th, 1792. Gustavus shot in the Stockholm Opera House by Anckarström.

March 26th, 1792. Death of Gustavus III.

His successor adopted a policy of strict neutrality towards France.

References:

Cambridge Modern History, Vol. VI, chap. XLII.

DENMARK, 1730-1797

I. General

The history of Denmark during the eighteenth century offers a striking contrast to that of the other nations of Europe. She took no part in the great wars of the century, except from September to November, 1732, when she invaded Sweden,¹ and, owing to her neutrality, secured much of the commerce which the belligerents were not able to carry on.

Her kings, though possessing absolute power, were swayed by powerful ministers, and in Denmark the ministers played the part of benevolent despots which kings played in other countries.

Denmark had gained Schleswig in 1720 at the close of the Great Northern War,² and the acquisition of Holstein was the main object of her foreign policy; she had given up the idea of regaining Scania from Sweden but hoped to unite Norway, Sweden and Denmark under one Crown. But her relations with Sweden were generally peaceful, although she tended to help the Swedish nobles to limit the power of the monarchy.

The condition of the country in 1730 was bad. The peasantry were heavily taxed and so; common cultivation and the three-field system hampered agriculture and much of the country was waste. The towns, except Copenhagen, were small, and the seaports almost deserted.

¹ Page 232.

² *Notes on European History*, Vol. II, page 452.

II. Foreign Policy.

A. France.

Johann von Bernstorff in 1755 secured from France a subsidy for equipping the Danish army and, as the Danish fleet was efficient, materially strengthened the position of Denmark.

B. Great Britain.

Skilful diplomacy avoided a quarrel with Britain, which, relying on her fleet, was apt to bully the Maritime Nations. Fear of British interference led Denmark to join the Armed Neutrality of 1780.¹

C. Russia.

Russia was dangerous not only because of her desire to dominate the Baltic, but because of her close connection with the house of Holstein-Gottorp, who desired to regain Schleswig. Anna, the daughter of Peter the Great, had married the Duke of Holstein-Gottorp, and their son became the Tsar Peter III in 1762; the election of Adolphus Frederick of Holstein-Gottorp to the throne of Sweden in 1743 was a serious blow to Denmark.

In 1762 Denmark was in serious danger, for Peter III, now allied with Frederick II, determined to recover Schleswig. The murder of Peter² saved Denmark.

1767. Catherine II agreed to induce her son Paul to relinquish his claim on Schleswig and to exchange Holstein for Oldenburg.

III. Johann von Bernstorff.

Bernstorff from 1751-1770 was the chief minister of the dissipated Frederick V (1746-1766) and the ineffectual Christian VII (1766-1794). He was responsible for the close alliance with France and the treaty of 1767 with Russia. He tried to stimulate trade by Protection; he raised the standard of culture by encouraging learned

¹ Page 166.

² Page 186.

foreigners to settle in Denmark; he kept Denmark at peace, and under his administration commerce, industry and agriculture improved.

IV. John Frederick Struensee.

Struensee, a doctor of Altona, gained great influence over Christian VII and became the lover of Queen Caroline Mathie, sister of George III. From December, 1770, to December, 1771, he was chief minister and during this period issued six hundred reforming decrees.

His aim was "to give Denmark a benevolent despotism, secure against bureaucratic restraint, to strike down privilege . . . to maintain for every citizen the widest possible freedom to live the life which seemed good to him."¹

A. Reforms.

He therefore weakened the power the nobles had secured in the administration; tried to improve the financial condition of the country by reducing the expenditure of the Court, abandoning subsidies to industry, disbanding the Royal Guards, limiting pensions and abolishing unnecessary posts. He abolished torture and revised the penal code. He limited the number of Church holidays, during which serfs could not work, and tried to reduce some of the worst evils of serfdom. He reformed municipal corporations and the universities.

B. Opposition.

Thus, although many of his reforms were salutary, he roused the fierce opposition of the nobles, the clergy and the army; his relations to the Queen and his introduction of foreign officials provoked strong resentment. Queen Juliana, widow of Frederick V, supported the "Danish party" against him, and he was seized and executed April 28th, 1773.

¹ *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. VI, page 387.

*F. Andreas Peter von Bernstorff, 1784-1797.**A. Reaction.*

Many of Struensee's reforms were annulled by the patriotic Guldberg, whose "Danish" policy substituted native officials for foreigners, prohibited the import of foreign corn and encouraged native manufactures.

B. Bernstorff's foreign and colonial policy.

Guldberg was succeeded by Andreas Peter von Bernstorff, the nephew of Johann. He kept Denmark at peace, except in 1788, maintained neutrality with regard to the French Revolution, compelled the Dey of Tripoli to respect the Danish flag and, in 1792, abolished the African slave trade in Danish colonies. Under him the foreign trade of Denmark was greatly extended.

C. Agriculture.

He continued, with greater success, his uncle's efforts to help the serfs. The authority of landlords over their peasants was limited; serfs were no longer bound to the soil; the restrictions on the importation of foreign corn and cattle were removed; the serfs were relieved from some of their taxes and they were afforded opportunities of acquiring land and getting education. The general result was the replacement of serfs by intelligent and hard-working peasants who "became the main element in the national strength of Denmark."

Reference:

Cambridge Modern History, Vol. VI, chap. XL.

FREDERICK WILLIAM I

Frederick William
(The Great Elector)

1640-1688.

Frederick I
1st King in Prussia.
1688-1713.

Frederick William I
1713-1740.

Frederick II
The Great
1740-1786
A.D.

Augustus William
d. 1733.

Frederick William II
1763-1797.

Frederick William III
1797-1840.

Wilhelmina
a. William V
of Orange.

Frederick William I succeeded his father Frederick I on February 29th, 1713. He said in 1722: "When my late father died in 1713, I found the province of Prussia almost at its last gasp with plague and famine, most of the domains mortgaged, all of which I have redeemed, and the finances in such a plight that bankruptcy was imminent, the army in no bad a way and so low in numbers that its shortcomings baffle description."

1. The Reorganisation of the Prussian Army.

The Great Northern War¹ had shown the need of a strong army to defend Prussia; that need was emphasised by the growing power of Russia, the establishment of Augustus of Saxony as King of Poland,² the accession

¹ *Notes on European History*, Vol. II, pages 448-459.

² Page 35.

to the throne of Great Britain in 1714 of the Elector of Hanover, who wished to secure supremacy in Northern Germany and resented the development of Prussia.

Prince Leopold of Anhalt-Dessau, who introduced the iron reared, enforced rigid discipline by exercises and brutal flogging, improved marching by using the cadenced step, and gave to the Prussian infantry the combination of mobility and machine-like position.

Voluntary enlistment, imprisonment and kidnapping enabled the recruiting officers to obtain many recruits; practical conscription of young nobles ensured a supply of officers. Although the King's policy prejudiced commerce and agriculture by the withdrawal of labor, caused great distress and led to the emigration of many living near the frontiers, it proved successful, and between 1713 and 1760 the Prussian army grew from 30,000 to 80,000, or four per cent of the total population.

The King was his own Commander-in-Chief; he inspected each regiment every year and appointed his own officers. The new Prussian army became the foundation of the absolute power of the King.

II. Internal Development.

A. National administration.

In 1723 Frederick William I combined the General Directory of Finance and the War Commission into the General Directory, which became the central administrative department. The King presided in person; it had four departments for Finance, Foreign Affairs, War and Justice, and the heads of these departments were members of the General Directory.

B. Local administration.

The work of the General Directory was carried out locally by Provincial Chambers for War and Domains, to which Country and Town Councils were subordinate. A similar arrangement was made for the administration of justice.

The Councillors of Towns, the representatives of the Provincial Chambers, and not the burghmasters, were the titled municipal officers. They controlled municipal finances, supervised municipal property, nominated local officials, admonished evil livers, settled disputes about wages and promoted manufactures.

C. Commerce and Agriculture.

The King greatly improved the cloth trade of Bremen; protected home industries by heavy tariffs; made generous gifts to meet the cost of municipal improvements.

He welcomed immigrants and settled 20,000 in East Prussia, of whom 15,000 were Protestants who owing to persecution had fled from the Archbishopric of Salzburg. The efforts of the new settlers led to a great development of agriculture. Thirty square miles of marsh around the Havel were reclaimed and turned into cultivable land.

D. General.

The new bureaucracy proved efficient; it promoted economic development; it gave to towns better conditions than those prevailing under the old municipal government, which had often been corrupt. The King's authority was felt everywhere, and paternal despotism, although it hampered individual action, led to increased prosperity. The development of industry and agriculture led to a considerable increase in the taxes; the income from the Crown Lands more than doubled in the reign of Frederick William I, who used his increased wealth to meet the expense of his growing army.

III. Foreign Policy.

Frederick William I had no capacity for foreign affairs and "was not, like his successor, master of the art of coexisting between the Powers." He feared that war might imperil the independence of Prussia and give Hanover an opportunity of attacking his country. He

adopted a policy of neutrality, and men said that he was so proud of his machine-like army that he would not expose it to the danger of battle. His only war was waged against Sweden, and as a result he obtained Stettin, the port of Berlin, which was his only territorial acquisition.

A. Austria.

Frederick William was loyal to the Emperor and anxious to discharge all his obligations as a German prince. He looked to the Emperor to enable him to secure Jülich and Berg, which by a treaty made in 1608 were to pass to Brandenburg on the failure of the last of the Neuburg line, Charles Philip, the Elector Palatine, but which Charles Philip wished to pass, with the Palatinate, to the kindred line of Solmsbach. The Emperor, a strong Catholic, was reluctant to hand over to a Protestant King Düsseldorf, the capital of Jülich and a stronghold of Catholicism.

1713. By the Treaty of Wusterhausen, Frederick William promised to support the Pragmatic Sanction, and Charles VI promised to support the Prussian claim to Jülich and Berg. Austrian influence, owing to the skill of Seckendorf the ambassador, now became supreme in Berlin.

1713. Refusal of Charles VI to guarantee Frederick William's succession to Jülich and Berg in return for the help of 20,000 Prussians in the War of the Polish Succession.

January, 1713. Secret agreement between Charles VI and France to support the claims of the Solmsbach line to Jülich and Berg.

April, 1713. Frederick William therefore made a secret treaty with France by which he was to get most of Berg, and Solmsbach the remainder.

Thus the Emperor's double-dealing had made France the ally of France.

B. Great Britain.

Although he had married Sophia Dorothea, daughter of George I, the different interests of Prussia and Great Britain in relation to Hanover caused a feeling of distrust between the two nations.

(1) The Treaty of Hanover.

1725. Frederick William made a treaty with Britain which promised to support his claims to Jülich and Berg. But the fear that Britain would use Prussia to suppress the Ostend Company² and injure Spanish commerce, and the diplomacy of Seckendorf led the Emperor to make with Frederick William the Treaty of Wusterhausen in 1726. Charles made a vague promise to give Jülich and Berg to Frederick William.

(2) Proposed marriage, 1730.

Queen Sophia Dorothea was anxious to marry her eldest daughter to Frederick, Prince of Wales, and the Crown Prince Frederick (II) to Princess Amelia. But Austrian diplomacy embittered Frederick William against Great Britain; difficulties arose owing to the enlistment of Hanoverians for service in the Prussian army; the British ambassador, Hotham, was insulted by Frederick William and the Queen's plan failed.

(3) Family quarrels.

The question of the English marriage embittered the bad feeling between the King and the Crown Prince Frederick (II), who had scorned his father's anger by his love of French literature, his contempt for Germans, his distaste for military uniform and duty and his tendency to dissipation. Frederick William now took away his son's books, forbade him to see his mother and flogged him in public at a military review attended by Augustus of Saxony.

² Page 23.

August 30th, 1750. Frederick made with his friend von Katté a plan to escape into Holland. The plan failed; von Katté was beheaded in the presence of Frederick, who was closely imprisoned at Cöthen. The failure of the British ambassador to reveal Frederick's plan to the King aggravated the bad feeling between Great Britain and Prussia.

June 12th, 1733. By his father's orders Frederick married Elizabeth of Brunswick, a niece of the Empress, and better relations were established between father and son.

IV. General.

A. Personal.

Frederick William's brutality, his "pipe-smoked Teutonism," his love of his Tobacco Parliament, in which he consumed vast quantities of beer and tobacco, his childish delight in his giant grenadiers, the great resentment aroused by his internal policy, which made "Court and army team with unrest," gained for his great unpopularity and ridicule.

But he was a man of pure life and of strong religious feelings; he had great practical ability and sacrificed pleasure to duty.

B. A great Prussian.

He firmly established the absolute power of the King "like a rock of brass" on the foundation of a powerful, disciplined and obedient army. He declared "Salvation belongs to the Lord; everything else is my business." He used his power to promote the good of his people, but his methods were drastic. "He seemed to regard his sceptre chiefly as a superior kind of *rod*."

He practiced rigid economy; he lived simply, cut down the expenses of the Court and paid a Russian subsidy by melting down the royal plate. By economy and efficient administration, in spite of the smallness

and poverty of Prussia, he left at his death accumulated treasure of twenty-six million marks.

Frederick II made Prussia a Great Power. He was able to do this because of the army, treasure and absolute power his father left him.

References:

The Balance of Power (Hassall), Birmington, pp. 120-125.

Cambridge Modern History, Vol. VI, chap. vi, 2.

Heroes of the Nations. Frederick the Great (Reddaway), Putnam, chap. ix.

FREDERICK II THE GREAT, 1712-1786

1. Life.

January 24th, 1712. Birth of Frederick. His early life was embittered by the brutality of his father Frederick William I, who drew up a militaristic scheme of education for his son which excluded classics, and when he found that his son preferred French to German, and fete-playing to drill, vented his rage in insults and blows. His father's bigoted Calvinism and his own natural tendency towards scepticism made Frederick reject orthodox Protestantism.

1733. Failure of Queen Sophia Dorothea's attempt to marry Frederick to Amelia of England.

August, 1733. Failure of Frederick's attempt to escape from Germany, followed by his imprisonment at Olmutz and the execution of von Katte.

August 18th, 1734. Better relations established between Frederick and his father.

June 12th, 1736. Marriage of Frederick to Elizabeth of Brunswick-Bevern.

May 31st, 1740. Death of Frederick William I and accession of Frederick II.

December, 1740-July, 1742. First Silesian War.¹

1741. April 10th. Mollwitz.

1741. October 25th. Treaty of Klein-Schnellendorf.

1742. May 17th. Chotusitz.

1742. July 28th. Treaty of Berlin. Frederick gets Silesia.

August, 1742-December, 1745. Second Silesian War.²

1742. Frederick defeated the Austrians at Hohenfriedberg (June 4th), Sohl (September 30th) and Kesseldorf (December 12th).

1745. December. Treaty of Dresden.

August, 1756-February, 1763. The Seven Years' War.³

1756. Frederick overruns Saxony—Leobnitz and Pirna (October).

1757. Frederick invades Bohemia—Prague (May 6th), Kolin (June 18th).

1757. August 20th. Gross Jägerndorf.

1757. November 5th. Rastbach.

1757. December 5th. Leuthen.

1758. August 22th. Zorndorf.

1758. October 14th. Hochkirch.

1759. July 13rd. Züllichau.

1759. August 12th. Kunersdorf.

1759. November 21st. Capitulation of Mäsen.

1760. June 22nd. Landshut.

1760. August 12th. Liegnitz.

1760. October 9th. Russians occupy Berlin.

1760. November 3rd. Torgau.

1761. October 5th. Resignation of William Pitt.

1761. December. Frederick's position seemed hopeless.

1762. January 5th. Death of the Empress Elizabeth.

1762. May 5th. Treaty between Russia and Prussia.

1762. July 21st. Berlinndorf.

1762. February 18th. Peace of Hubertshburg.

April, 1764. Alliance between Frederick II and Catherine II renewed in 1767 and 1769.

1764. De Lunny appointed Superintendent of Customs.

¹ Page 28.

² Page 30.

³ Page 124.

August, 1772. First Partition of Poland.

July, 1778-May, 1779. War of the Bavarian Succession.

1780. End of the alliance between Prussia and Russia.

July, 1785. Frederick established the Flottenbau.

August 17th, 1786. Death of Frederick the Great.

II. Foreign Policy.

A. The aggrandizement of Prussia.

The great object of Frederick the Great was the aggrandizement of Prussia; he said that he "made it a point of honour to contribute more than any other to the aggrandizement of my house." He saw that Polish and Silesia were too far to be of great value and remained, by the Treaty of Breslau in June, 1741, all claims on them in return for the promise of France to guarantee his possession of Lower Silesia. He added to Prussia Silesia, Polish Prussia, East Prussia, which he seized in 1709 as salary of War; he failed to secure Saxony, although he occupied the Electorate in the Seven Years' War, offered to give East Prussia to Peter II in 1763 if the Czar would support the transference of Saxony to Prussia and took part in the War of the Bavarian Succession, 1778-1779, partly in the hope of securing part of Saxony.

B. Frederick's Diplomacy.

His successful diplomacy was a triumph of strategy; it was marked by insight, opportunism and defectivity and by an utter disregard for honour. He said: "If there is anything to be gained by being honest, let us be honest; if it is necessary to deceive, let us deceive." He made the Treaty of Breslau with France against Austria in June, 1741; the Convention of Klein-Schellendorf with Austria in October, 1741; broke the Convention in December, 1741, and again co-operated with France; deserted France and made the Treaty of Berlin with Austria in July, 1742. Frederick failed to

make allowance for honesty in others and was greatly surprised when Augustus, out of loyalty to Austria, opposed his passage through Saxony in 1756. He did not appreciate the great influence exerted by women in politics.

(1) Austria.

He realised that the traditional policy of friendship with Austria was no longer possible owing to the growing jealousy of Austria and made overtures in 1740 to France and Russia to settle the question of Silesia and Burg without reference to Austria. His seizure of Silesia aroused the permanent hostility of Austria, but his treaties with Russia in 1762 and 1764 minimised the danger. On the failure of the Russian alliance in 1780 he adopted a German policy, and by posing as the champion of Protestantism and the rights of the German princes formed the Fürstenbund in 1785 to check Austria.

(2) France.

He made a skilful use of the hostility between France and Austria during the War of the Austrian Succession. But the Reversal of Alliances was a serious blow to Frederick, who was saved from destruction partly by lack of cohesion among his enemies in the Seven Years' War.

(3) Russia.

The alliance made with Peter II in 1762 and renewed by Catherine II was of inestimable value to Prussia. After 1762 Frederick wanted peace for the restoration of his country, and the alliance with Russia diverted the danger from Austria and protected his eastern frontier. He showed great diplomatic ability in his negotiations with Austria and Russia in 1769-1772, which resulted in the First Partition of Poland.¹

¹ Page 154.

(6) *Great Britain.*

Britain's interest in Hanover and the possibility of a British alliance with Russia added to Frederick's difficulties. But the Treaty of Westminster, 1763,¹ was a skilful move on Frederick's part: the hostility between France and Britain led Pitt, who wished to concentrate his efforts on the Colonial War, to support Frederick II in Europe. After Duple deserted him² Frederick never renewed his alliance with Britain.

C. *Results.*

The result of Frederick's foreign policy was that the territory of Prussia increased from 3300 to 3600 square miles, the population from two millions to six.

III. *Domestic Policy.*A. *Absolute power.*(1) *Reasons for absolutism.*

Frederick's power was absolute. It was due to the support of his army; to the strong caste divisions which prevented national union against the King; to the differences of religion which prevented union among the clergy; to the enormous wealth of the King, who held one-third of Prussia as Crown Lands; to the military authority the King exercised over the nobles, who formed the officers, and the peasants, who formed the rank and file of his army.

(2) *Excellent despotism.*

The Prussian monarchy was a personal despotism exercised for the good of the nation as servants of the King. Frederick admitted no man or body of men as his colleagues in the work of government and war. His ministers were servants; he summarily dismissed the Chancellor and imprisoned three judges for giving

¹ Page 114.² Page 165.

a verdict of which he disapproved; the clergy became his "spiritual sergeants, corporals and captains." By indefatigable energy the King personally directed everything; he issued orders that servants in lighting fires were to use wood chips and not reas, which was required for paper; he organised the Berlin egg machine; "he supervised his kitchen like a department of State."¹ "Austerity and diligence are the hall-marks of all his measures."²

B. Commerce.

The King, in accordance with the mercantile theory, protected home-industries by prohibiting imports and exports to suit the requirements of the home market. He seized the monopoly of the manufacture of Dresden pottery and used them to establish the porcelain industry of Berlin; he prohibited the import of Swedish iron in order to facilitate the development of the Silesian iron field; he assisted the wool-trade and granted large amounts of his own money to support the manufacture of silk and velvet; in 1763 he started the Prussian Bank.

C. Agriculture.

Frederick II realised the importance of successful agriculture.

(1) Immigration.

He favoured immigration, and in his reign about 200,000 foreigners settled on the least fertile parts of Prussia, especially in the Mare of Brandenburg and East Prussia.

(2) Emancipation.

He made great efforts and gave large contributions to restore agriculture after the devastation of the war. He gave space and houses to the peasants, supplied them seed (50,000 in the Neumark alone) and tools; provided timber and paid for the erection of 10,000 farm-houses and farm buildings; mortgages on easy terms.
¹ *Curran*.
² *Reidinger*.

relieved the Russian landowners. The King was the greatest corn grower in Prussia, and the deputes he established ensured a supply of corn in unproductive years ; he thus gave his peasant subjects an assurance against starvation.

(3) Serfs.

He abolished slavery, but, owing to the local influence of the nobles, failed to abolish serfdom. The condition of the peasants of Prussia was worse than that of the peasants in France.

D. Finance.

The revenues rose rapidly. Prosperity meant higher rents for Crown domains ; the State held the monopoly of salt (of which everybody had to purchase a fixed quantity), tobacco and coffee. The stamp duty was quadrupled, heavy additional taxes were placed on meat (but not pork), beer and spirits. The State made a large profit by redeeming at a quarter of its nominal value the debased coinage it had issued during the war.

The captains and regiments were reorganised by De Lottum, who was appointed Chief Superintendent in 1763, and the chief posts in the service were given to Frenchmen. The new arrangement was unpopular, but led to a considerable increase in revenue and a decrease in smuggling.

Owing to his financial policy Frederick II left at his death fifty-one million thalers ; more than double the annual revenue of Prussia.

E. Religion.

Frederick II determined that "in this country every one shall get to heaven in his own way" and stood "neutral between Rome and Geneva." He gave toleration to all forms of religious beliefs and allowed the Jesuits to enter Prussia in the hope that they would raise the standard of education. Although a Deist, he

posed as the champion of Protestantism and declared he "relied on religion and our brave soldiers" for success in his first Silesian campaign.

F. Frederick II and the Army.

Frederick used his power largely to his army and he "used his strength like a giant." Under him Prussia became one vast camp.

(1) Numbers.

The Prussian army suffered great losses under Frederick II, e.g. 18,000 out of 48,000 were wounded or slain at Mollwitz in August, 1740; eighteen battalions and thirty-five squadrons surrendered at Maseo in November, 1756. But Frederick kept up his numbers by active recruiting, and in 1762 he had an effective force of 100,000 men.

(2) Improvements.

Frederick introduced light artillery, formed a body of cavalry which, though ineffective at Mollwitz in 1741, rapidly improved owing to Zieten's leadership and at Hohenfriedberg in 1745 became worthy colleagues of the wonderful Prussian infantry which Ferdinand made more mobile and therefore more effective.

(3) Frederick as a soldier.

As a general Frederick made his plans quickly and carried them out with swift precision. The rapid movements of his mobile troops did something to counteract the superior numbers of his enemies. He displayed great courage in battle, and Napoleon said, "It was not the army that defended Prussia . . . it was Frederick the Great." If the capture of Silesia made him Frederick the Great, the Seven Years' War proved him to be a hero. His most conspicuous success was Rastatt, November, 1767.

IV. Personal.

A. Appearance.

He was of medium height, dressed carelessly, was dirty and stained his clothes with sweat. But his bearing was proud and impressive.

B. Lack of human sympathy.

He was cold, cynical, selfish and immoral. He regarded mankind with contempt; he was at times ungrateful, and in 1763 he dismissed without reward most of the soldiers who had helped him to save Prussia; he was a master of the art of detraction, and his scathing remarks about Catherine II¹ and Madame de Pompadour increased their hostility.

C. Causes of his success.

He was hard-working, clear-sighted, unscrupulous and energetic. His swift and decisive action ensured the success of his daring schemes, and he allowed no consideration of honesty, gratitude or mercy to turn him from his course.

D. The supporter of "Enlightenment."

He was a disciple of Voltaire; he wrote many books, including a *History of the Seven Years' War*; he was a poet, philosopher and musician. But he was a man of action rather than a thinker.

V. The Importance of Frederick the Great.

Frederick turned Prussia from a third-class into a first-class Power and made it "a solid and living state round which the Teutonic people should consolidate itself."² But his power was personal, his political machine had no power of self-direction and Prussia lost much of her strength under Frederick William II. The system of Frederick the Great led to the downfall of Prussia at Jena in October, 1806.

¹ He said that if she were corresponding with God, Catherine would demand equal rank.

² *Leipzig*.

In spite of the union of the German princes in the *Pfautenbund*, Frederick's policy was essentially Prussian; but "the course of history has shown that by gaining Silesia Prussia enabled herself to become in time the principal German state."¹ The ultimate result of the work of Frederick the Great was the establishment of the German Empire at Versailles on January 18th, 1871.

References:

Series of the Nations. Frederick the Great (Reddaway), Putnam.

Mausberg's Europe. Frederick the Great.

Cambridge Modern History, Vol. VI, chap. XX.

The Balance of Power (Hassall), Livingston, pp. 375-381.

FREDERICK WILLIAM II, 1786-1797

Frederick William II succeeded his uncle Frederick II in 1786.

I. Domestic Policy.

A. Revenue and Commerce.

Frederick William II inherited some of the hardships caused by Frederick II's policy; he raised the pay of officers, abolished the State monopolies on coffee and tobacco and sent the French revenue officers back to France.

No wars were waged in Prussia during his reign, commerce flourished and the returns from Customs and Excise increased. But by raising the treasury his waste had left to meet the cost of foreign war he emptied the treasury and seriously weakened the financial position of Prussia.

B. The Rosicrucians.

The mystical philosophy of the Rosicrucians, who sought the philosopher's stone, studied spiritualism and

¹ Reddaway.

tried to revive the dead, was a reaction against the rationalism of the previous reign. Freedom of speech was limited, and many preachers and teachers of the *Aufklärung* were affected by the religious edicts issued by Frederick William II in 1788. Kant was the most distinguished victim.

Although he favoured the Reformation, who insisted on the observance of chastity, Frederick William II was immoral and contracted two bigamous marriages during the lifetime of his second wife.

C. The *Algemeines Landrecht*.

The *Algemeines Landrecht*, published in 1794, was a valuable codification of the laws of Prussia. It tended to strengthen the power of the bureaucracy by making them less dependent on the monarchy.

II. Foreign Policy.

A. Austria.

(1) Enmity.

Frederick William II regarded Austria as the enemy of Prussia; in 1780 he resolved to drive the Austrians out of Galicia and the Netherlands, and in 1790 made alliances, which were "manifestations of duplicity and perfidy,"¹ with Turkey and Poland against Austria.

(2) The Convention of Reichenbach, June, 1790 (page 287).

(3) Alliance.

Owing to the danger from the French Revolution, Frederick William, who was proud of the part he had played in establishing the Stadtholder in Holland and wished to re-establish Louis XVI in France, made an alliance with Austria in 1792, supported her when France declared war and joined in invading France. But lack of success, the need of concentrating his attention on Poland, the growing suspicion of Austria

¹ Haase.

and the pressure of the anti-Austrian party at Berlin led to the withdrawal of Prussia from the war and the conclusion of the Treaty of Basle, 1765.²

B. Poland.³

1793. By the Second Partition Prussia gained Danzig, Thorn, Poznań, Kalisz and Gnesen.

1795. By the Third Partition Prussia gained Warsaw and the territory between the Niemen and the Bug.

C. Holland and the Triple Alliance.

(1) Holland.

The old strife continued between the republican Estates or "Patriots," supported by France, which protected the interests of Holland by the Treaty of Fontenoyblanc in 1762,⁴ and the Stadtholder William V, who had married Frederick William's sister Wilhelmina and was favoured by Great Britain.

September, 1786. The Estates suspended the Stadtholder and deprived him of the power of nominating officers in the army.

June, 1787. Arrest by some instigators of Wilhelmina, who was imprisoned for one day.

September, 1787. Owing to his sister's treatment Frederick William sent an army into Guelderland; the Estates submitted; the Stadtholder re-entered The Hague on September 20th, 1787, and re-established the constitution. The intervention of France, which was greatly weakened by the death of Vergennes in February, 1787, and the weakness of his successor Montmorin, was averted by Pitt's assertion that such intervention would lead to war between Great Britain and France. "No single effect since the battle of Rocquart did so much to discredit the Bourbon monarchy as the passive acquiescence by France of Prussian intervention in Holland."⁵

² Page 228.

³ Page 229 and 230.

⁴ Page 231.

⁵ *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. VIII, page 324.

(3) *The Triple Alliance, 1788.*

JUNE, 1788. A Triple Alliance was formed between England, Holland and Prussia to guarantee the constitution of Holland. The Triple Alliance was a great triumph for Pitt and a very serious rebuff for France. It increased the prestige of Frederick William II, who hoped to secure from it assistance against Austria. It exercised considerable influence in Europe; stopped Denmark from helping Russia against Sweden in 1788¹; averted probable war between Prussia and Austria by the Convention of Reichenbach² in 1790; helped to make the Treaty of Sistova³ between Austria and Turkey in 1791 and the Treaty of Jassy⁴ between Russia and Turkey in 1792; helped Austria to maintain her hold on the Netherlands.

References:

The Balance of Power (Hansell), Rivingtons, pp. 285-286.

Cambridge Modern History, Vol. VI, chap. XX; Vol. VIII, chap. XI.

¹ Page 281.

² Page 282.

³ Page 284.

⁴ Page 286.

THE AUSTRIAN TERRITORIES FROM 1765-1790



I. The Aims of Maria Theresa and Joseph II.

In 1765 Joseph II succeeded his father as Holy Roman Emperor and became co-Regent with his mother of the Austrian territories. These were little more than a federation of heterogeneous states separated by differences of race, language, constitution and interests and united only by the authority of the Emperor and the Roman Catholic religion. Great evils required reform; "provincialism and aristocratic independence permeated the whole body-politic."¹ The finances were embarrassed owing to the cost of recent wars; the condition of the peasants was deplorable; there was no effective system of central government or justice; education was neglected; the legal code was barbarous.

The co-Regents, who were benevolent despots, aimed at centralising administration and reforming evils, but Maria Theresa was hampered by old Hapsburg traditions, by her belief that the nobles formed an important basis of her power and by her sincere devotion to Catholicism. She desired gradual reform, and it was not until her death in 1780 that Joseph II, who was not a

¹ *Ibid.*

Hapsburg but a Lorrainer, was free to attempt "reformation in a flood." The co-Regency was marked by serious differences (Maria Theresa desired to resign in May, and Joseph in December, 1773; Kaunitz sent in his resignation in 1774 and in 1776); but Joseph, who was devoted to his mother, delayed reform in accordance with her wishes.

Joseph desired with all possible speed "to consolidate all his dominions into one homogeneous whole; to abolish all privileges and exclusive rights; to obliterate the boundaries of nations, and substitute for them a more administrative division of his whole empire; to merge all nationalities . . . and establish a uniform code of justice; to raise the mass of the community to legal equality with their former masters; to constitute a uniform level of democratic simplicity under his own absolute sway."⁷

II. Centralization.

- ① "Centralization was intended to improve the internal administration of the Austrian territories and, particularly in the case of Joseph's desire to exchange the Netherlands for Bavaria," to round them off so that they might more easily check any danger from Prussia or Turkey.

A. Administration.

(1) The Directorium, 1783.

1783. Maria Theresa, by the advice of Kaunitz, combined the separate Chanceries of Bohemia and Austria into a single Directorium with which were connected subordinate Provincial and District Councils.

(2) The State Council.

The Directorium failed to effect the desired centralization of administration and was practically

⁷ *Historical Studies, Brussels, (Longmans),* page 12.

⁸ Page 276.

superadded by a Council of State whose members had no departmental office, but advised the Emperor and supervised government.

(2) The Circles.

Joseph, while maintaining separate Chanceries in Austria, Bohemia, Hungary and Transylvania, divided his empire into thirteen governments, each divided into Circles which were subdivided into urban and rural districts. The Circles, the most important part of the scheme, dealt with all branches of government, including schools, the relations of overlords and tenants, and the land system.

B. Justice.

Maria Theresa established at Vienna a High Court of Justice *suprema* over all other tribunals, and in 1783 set up a Commission to codify the laws.

Joseph made a system of co-ordinated courts which ensured proper connection between all courts and the High Court, and in 1781 arranged an elaborate system of appeals from lower to higher courts.

C. The Army.

The army had been both raised and maintained by provincial Estates, which tended to consider the interests of their own provinces rather than those of the Empire. Hangerups asserted rightly that the establishment of the immediate supremacy of the sovereign over the army was essential for the safety of the Empire. Maria Theresa therefore in 1763 abolished the authority the Estates had exercised over the army, met the expenses of the army by imposing the "Ten Years' Revenn," a tax of 14,000,000 golden for ten years, to which nobles and peasants had to contribute. Joseph established conscription, and the army then became a national force, subject to the sole authority of the sovereign.

1762. The War Department was reorganised. Civil officials were recruited, and under the presidency of Daun the army was greatly improved.

Uniform and equipment were made uniform, discipline was strengthened, camps of exercise and military colleges were established and, largely owing to Joseph's personal interest, the artillery was greatly developed.

D. General.

The new arrangements greatly strengthened the monarchy and impaired the authority of provincial Estates and local nobles. In administration Joseph carried on his mother's policy, and the object of his administrative policy was "the unity of the Empire and the subordination of the interests of the provinces to the general good."¹

III. Reform.

The strengthening of the central government enabled it the more easily to carry out schemes of reform.

A. The Church.

(1) Joseph's views.

Maria Theresa was a devoted Roman Catholic; she insisted on the need of maintaining Roman Catholicism as the "supreme religion," and believed that the weakening of ecclesiastical authority meant the spread of immorality and infidelity. But owing largely to Bourbon influences she suppressed the Jesuits in 1773; she checked the increase of monasteries and limited the right of asylum.

Joseph professed Christianity, but resented the authority exercised in his dominions by the Pope and the generals of the monastic orders, and aimed at giving full civil rights and religious freedom to his subjects. He considered "that the Church might be in fact only one of the numerous departments of the State." He is mainly responsible for the religious

¹ *Ibid.*

reforms of the period, and he desired to secure ecclesiastical independence for Austria. But by weakening the influence of the Roman Catholic Church, which formed one of the bonds of union in his dominions, Joseph added to his own difficulties.

(3) *The weakening of the authority of the Pope.*

1781-1784. Bishops were forbidden to appeal to Rome or to publish any Papal Bulls without the Emperor's consent; monasteries were exempted from obedience to the Pope; no money was to be sent from Austria to Rome.

(3) *Suppression of monasteries.*

Joseph suppressed entirely the purely contemplative orders, reduced the number of monks by 20,000 and closed 700 out of 2000 religious houses.

(4) *General seminaries.*

Joseph replaced the ecclesiastical training colleges by general seminaries, which were State institutions.

(5) *Toleration.*

1781. By his Edict of Toleration Joseph gave to all Christians, although not to Jews and Deists, full civil and academic privileges and liberty to build their own churches, to celebrate their own sacraments and to educate their children.

1788. Pope Pius VI visited Vienna, but failed to induce Joseph to change his policy. The Emperor said: "Each of us is earning his bread. He defends the authority of the Church, I uphold the rights of the State."

(6) *Changes in ceremony.*

The authority of the State over the Church was also shown by the issue of new service books, alterations in the order of worship, the removal from churches of side altars and pictures.

B. Education.

Education came under the direction of the central authority; the reforms that were made were due to the desire to produce good citizens rather than to promote learning.

(1) University.

The University of Vienna lost its independence and became a department of State. The faculties were reorganised, professors better paid and methods of instruction improved.

1786. New University buildings were opened.

(2) Secondary and Technical.

A new system of examinations led to improvements in secondary schools and technical instruction was recognised. The suppression of the *Jesuits* led to the secularisation of learning and the employment of many lay teachers. Latin remained the foundation of secondary instruction, but science received more attention.

(3) Primary.

Joseph said: "What we want is that all our subjects should be able to read, write and count." Abbot Felbiger, a Prussian, reorganised the system and established three kinds of primary schools to suit the requirements of towns, districts and villages. From 1767-1777 the number of scholars was trebled.

C. Legal reforms.

Marie Theresa had attended criminal law and limited the use of torture, and a new criminal code was adopted in 1788. Joseph's "enactments mark a distinct progress from medieval to modern ideas." Punishment was graduated, capital punishment diminished; the intention as well as the act was considered by judges; magic and apostasy were no longer regarded as crimes.

In civil law law was done, but marriage was made a civil contract, and the law of inheritance was amended.

D. The peasants.

Feudalism was strong, and the condition of the peasants, who were entirely dependent on the land-owners, was deplorable. Maria Theresa favoured the abolition of villenage, but the influence of the nobles prevented her from doing more than limiting feudal services, and the peasants, whom her sympathy had led to expect radical reform and who were disappointed at her failure to improve their lot, rose in rebellion in 1774 and 1775.

Joseph abolished villenage; gave to the peasant the absolute possession of his property, freedom of marriage, liberty of movement from place to place and the right of commutating feudal services for money payments.

E. Finance.

The heavy cost of war and of maintaining an adequate army of defence led to continual financial embarrassment, in spite of rigid personal economy on Joseph's part. Maria Theresa was compelled to pawn her jewels in 1768, and in 1780 a public subscription was raised to meet the expenses of the Seven Years' War.

The "Ten Years' Boom" of 1781 established the liability of all to contribute to the revenue of the State, and the need of a large revenue was obvious. Economists in 1788 urged that taxation should be lowered, on the ground that a larger revenue would follow from the increased prosperity that remission of taxes would cause. Joseph maintained existing taxes, tried to promote industry by a rigid protective system and, in accordance with the teaching of the Physiocrats, established a uniform system of taxation of land to which all land, whether belonging to nobles, the Crown, peasants or the Church, was equally liable.

This policy of centralisation and reform applied generally only to the central parts of the Austrian Empire. The Austrian Netherlands and Hungary require separate consideration.

IV. The Austrian Netherlands.

In the Austrian Netherlands the different provinces had their own Estates, and the liberties of Brabant were protected by the Council of Brabant in accordance with the *Joyous Entry*, a charter granted by Jeanne¹ in 1366. The provinces had retained much independence; they were ruled by viceroys and not directly by the Emperor, and Joseph's sister Christina and her husband Albert of Saxony held the viceroyalty jointly.

A. Proposed exchange for Bavaria.²

The Netherlands strongly objected to Joseph's proposal to exchange the Netherlands for Bavaria, which would make them subject to a foreign ruler.

B. The attempt to open the Scheldt, 1784-1785.

(1) General conditions.

By the Treaty of Münster, 1648, the Dutch had secured the sole right of navigation on the Scheldt; the trade of Antwerp suffered greatly in consequence.

By the Barrier Treaty of 1713 the Dutch were allowed to garrison the Barrier Fortresses against France; the cost was met by a subsidy from Austria. The fortresses were now in ruins and of no military value; serious differences arose between garrisons and local authorities on questions of police, religion and trading; payment of the subsidy had been stopped.

Joseph II laid claim to the Dutch towns of Maastricht.

(2) The Treaty of Fontenoybleau, 1785.

1780. Great Britain, at war with Holland, suggested that Joseph should open the Scheldt.

¹ Duchess of Brabant.

² Page 126.

1763. The Dutch surrendered the Barrier Fortresses to Joseph.

1784. Joseph, with the approval of Catherine II, demanded the free navigation of the Scheldt from the Dutch, who were supported by France; he sent two Austrian ships into the Scheldt, but they were stopped by the Dutch.

November 10th, 1785. By the mediation of France the Treaty of Fontainebleau was concluded, by which

- a. Holland kept Maastricht, but surrendered the fortresses of Lillo and Lilloenshoek.
- b. The Barrier Treaty was annulled.

(3) The Emperor renounced his demand for the open navigation of the Scheldt, but reserved the right of navigation in the neighbourhood of Antwerp.

(4) The emperor received 10,000,000 guilders, of which France guaranteed half.

In spite of the concession of some rights of navigation, of territory and of a share in the Indian trade, strong disappointment was felt in the Netherlands that the Scheldt remained a closed river.

The Treaty was a diplomatic success for France; strengthened the friendship between France and Holland; rendered a French invasion of the Netherlands easier; deprived Great Britain of one of her oldest allies.

C. The Revolt of the Netherlands.

The attempt of Joseph II to apply to the Austrian Netherlands his policy of centralisation and reform led to a revolt which, unlike those of France and the United States, was the rebellion of reactionary subjects against a reforming Emperor.

(1) Ecclesiastical innovations.

1781. Joseph issued an Edict of Toleration and invited appeals to Rome.

1783. Joseph proposed to suppress some monasteries.

[1788. Joseph ordered the *Kermesse* to be celebrated on the same day throughout the country in order to check disorder and interference with trade.]

October, 1784. Joseph established a general seminary at Louvain which all ecclesiastical students were to attend.

These measures caused great discontent, but did not at first lead to revolt.

(2) Political innovations.

a. The Edicts.

January 1st, 1787. Joseph issued two Edicts; one entrusted the government to a Council and three circles, thus superseding the general authority of the Estates and the local authority of nobles and municipalities; the other suppressed the old civil courts, established new local courts, two Courts of Appeal and a Supreme Council.

b. The Edicts withdrawn.

April, 1787. Owing to the Edicts the Estates of Brabant refused to vote subsidies; Van der Noot, a Brabantian lawyer, protested against the violation of the *Joyous Enfeoffment*.

May 30th, 1787. The viceroys withdrew the political Edicts.

(3) The Result.

The religious grievances remained and now provoked strong opposition.

January, 1788. The Council of Brabant refused to assent to the General Seminary. The Bishop of Malines was fired and professors of Louvain expelled for opposition.

June 18th, 1788. The Estates of Brabant were suppressed and the *Joyous Enfeoffment* revoked.

But these and other arbitrary measures failed to crush opposition, which was inflamed by the capture of the Bastille on July 14th. Union of the conservative party led by Van der Noot, aiming at the restoration of the old constitution with the help of foreign powers, and the revolutionary party led by Vandevelde.

Inspired by Van der Noot, the people rose in revolt; the Austrians were driven out, Christina and Albert fled.

December, 1789. The States-General deposed Joseph II and declared a Republic.

January 16th, 1790. Proclamation at Brussels of an Act of Union of the Belgian United Provinces.

(4) Russia.

The revolt of the Netherlands seriously weakened Austria by preventing her from taking full advantage of her recent successes against Turkey and giving an opportunity to "the enemies of the Hapsburgs to attack the weakened Emperor."¹

V. Hungary.

In Hungary the Magyars, the conquering race, were alone eligible for the Diet and alone possessed constitutional rights; they were tenacious of their privileges and were strong nationalists; they were exempt from taxation; they acknowledged Joseph only as King of Hungary and strongly resented his refusal to allow himself to be crowned in Buda-Pesth.

Joseph, who had aroused ill-feeling in Hungary by reorganising parishes and forbidding pluralism, in 1784 replaced Latin by German as the official language, and soon afterwards replaced the Diet by ten circles each under a royal officer, abolished serfdom and repressed the local immunities of the nobles.

¹ Russell.

The Magyars resented these changes, partly because they seemed to be an attempt to Germanise Hungary, partly because they were an attack on the long-established privileges of the nobles, who strongly objected to the equality of law, taxation and conscription which the Emperor wished to establish. The opposition Joseph provoked in Hungary was an aristocratic movement.

November, 1768. Ransom of Transylvania to grace the arm and money the Emperor needed for the Turkish War.¹ Demand of the Hungarians that the Diet should be restored.

December 26, 1769. Partly owing to the Turkish War Joseph was compelled to withdraw all the edicts which he had passed for Hungary except the one that abolished serfdom.

VI. Bavaria.²

A. The Emperor Joseph.

Joseph was anxious to acquire Bavaria, the addition of which would have greatly strengthened Austrian territory by joining Bohemia to the northern provinces ; given the Emperor more influence over the German princes ; and limited the chance that Prussia would become the leading German power. He married, as his second wife, Josephine, the sister and heiress of the Elector Maximilian Joseph, in the hope of securing Bavaria through his wife ; but the Empress Josephine died in 1767.

B. The War of the Bavarian Succession, 1778-1779.

(1) Austrian claims.

December, 1777. Death of Maximilian Joseph ; succession to Bavaria of the Elector Palatine, Charles Theodor of Sulzbach ; but the Dowager Electress of Saxony claimed the allodial property, as sister of the late Elector, and the Duke of Mecklenburg claimed

¹ Page 364.

² Bavaria was not a part of the Austrian territories but of the Empire.

Leuchtenberg. Maria Theresa, as Queen of Bohemia, claimed *de jure* in Upper Bavaria and, as Archduchess of Austria, the districts formerly held by the family of Strakosky.

Charles Theodore made a Convention recognising the Austrian claim to Bavaria, and Austrian soldiers occupied the ceded territory.

(3) The intervention of Frederick II.

Frederick II strongly objected to the occupation by Austria of Bavarian territory, which by strengthening the power of Austria imperilled the safety of Prussia and threatened to impair the position of the princes of Germany. He posed as the protector of the princes against the arbitrary power of the Emperor; supported the claim of the Duke of Zweibrücken, the heir to the Electorate, to succeed to the whole of Bavaria.

May, 1778. The Duke of Zweibrücken protested in the Diet against the Convention, which was invalid without his sanction.

Maria Theresa strongly opposed war, but the Emperor persisted in his policy and war broke out between Prussia and Austria.

(4) The "Potato War," 1778-1779.

Frederick invaded Bohemia in July, 1778; the Austrians took up a strong position on the Elbe. No battle took place; the Prussians ran short of food, and their efforts to secure supplies gave the name of the "Potato War" to the bloodless campaign.

(5) The Peace of Teschen, 1779.

France and Russia, although allies of Austria, objected to the absorption of Bavaria by the Hapsburgs—in the former case because the acquisition of Bavaria would strengthen the position of Austria in Germany and might lead to aggression towards the Rhine; but neither wanted war, because France was

at war with Great Britain; and Russia was busy in the Crimea and unwilling to engage in a war which might lead to a reconsideration of the recent Partition of Poland. Owing to the skilled diplomacy of Vergennes and the firm attitude of Russia, Joseph was compelled to agree to—

May 19th, 1779. The Peace of Teschen, by which :

- a. The Convention of 1778 was annulled.
- b. The Quarter of the Inn, about a sixteenth of Bavaria, was ceded to Austria, which thus secured direct communication with the Tyrol.
- c. The Electress of Saxony withdrew her claims on payment of six million florins.
- d. Austria agreed that Anspach and Bayreuth should pass to the King of Prussia on failure of the reigning house.

The Peace showed the great influence Russia had secured and gave her an opportunity of interfering in the affairs of Germany as a guarantor of the Peace of Westphalia which was renewed at Teschen ; it was a political triumph for Frederick, who had appeared as the defender of the rights of the princes against Austria ; by ceding Bavaria and the Palatinate it strengthened the non-Hapsburg party in the Empire. It weakened the friendship between Austria and France and led Joseph to incline towards an alliance with Russia.

VII. The Pannenberg.

1785. Joseph made an agreement with the Elector-Charles Theodore to exchange the Austrian Netherlands, except Luxembourg and Namur, which were to be given to France, for Bavaria ; Charles Theodore was to receive the title King of Burgundy.

Joseph's plan would have consolidated the Austrian territory and strengthened Austria against the growing power of Prussia. But the Duke of Zweibrücken appealed

to Prussia, Russia and France; the Bavarians and Belgians strongly objected, and Joseph was compelled to renounce his statesman-like scheme.

March, 1786. Frederick II, alarmed at Joseph's desire to strengthen the Imperial power, formed the *Pfanderbund* (including Prussia, Saxony, Brunswick and, later, Saxe-Weimar, Zembrotickau, Mecklenburg, Baden, Mainz and Trier) to maintain the rights of individual princes as settled by the Peace of Westphalia, and to prevent the union of Bavaria and Austria. The *Pfanderbund* ceased to have any importance after the death of Frederick II in 1796.

References :

The Balance of Power (Hall), Livingston, chap. III.

Maria Theresa (Bright), Macmillan, chaps. II, III, IV.

Joseph II (Bright), Macmillan, chaps. III-IV, IX.

Cambridge Modern History, Vol. VI, chap. XVII.

JOSEPH II

1765-1790

I. Life.

The son of the Emperor Francis I (of Lorraine) and Maria Theresa.

November, 1763. Death from smallpox of his dearly loved first wife, Isabella of Parma.

1764. Elected King of the Romans.

January, 1765. Married Josephine of Bavaria, to whom he showed no signs of affection.

August, 1765. On the death of his father became Emperor and co-Regent with Maria Theresa of the Austrian territories.

May, 1767. Death of the Empress Josephine.

1772. The First Partition of Poland.¹

1775. Joseph obtained the Bukovina.²

¹ Page 294.

² Page 301.

1724-1725. The War of the Bavarian Succession.
May, 1724. The Peace of Teschen.
November 29th, 1740. Death of Maria Theresa.
1781. Alliance between Austria and Russia.
1781. The Edict of Toleration.
March, 1785. The Fürstenbund.
November, 1785. The Treaty of Fontainebleau.
1786. Death of Frederick the Great.
1787-1789. Rising in the Netherlands.
1788-(1790). War with Turkey.
1789. Dissolution in Hungary.
January, 1790. The Austrian Netherlands declare themselves a republic.
February 29th, 1790. Death of Joseph II.

II. Domestic Policy.

Joseph was the best of the benevolent despots of the eighteenth century. He aimed at creating an Austrian state, subject to the absolute power of the Crown, and at using that power to promote the good of his people and to secure equal rights of citizenship for all his subjects. His policy was based on reason and marked by enlightenment and humanity.

Joseph's schemes sometimes failed, partly because he did not make due allowance for existing conditions; partly because they were often in advance of the age; partly because his agents proved unable to carry out his benevolent intentions; sometimes owing to his own rashness and impatience.

In Hungary and the Netherlands he failed to secure his ends. But in the Austrian territories "the public welfare had gained enormously by the extirpation of serfdom; agriculture, manufacturing industry and trade had received a mighty impulse; the power of the State had been enormously increased; a beneficial excitement had been produced in all the provinces of intellectual life."¹

¹ Hauser, quoted by Mirvald, page 40.

III. Foreign Policy.

He tried to secure territory which would round off the Austrian state and thus enable him to check any danger from Prussia and re-establish the supremacy of the Empire in Germany. He took advantage of the weakness of Turkey to secure the Bukovina, but failed to secure Bavaria and lost the Netherlands. His attempt to combine drastic internal reforms with an aggressive foreign policy imperilled the success of the former and ensured the failure of the latter.

He realized that Prussia was becoming a serious rival of Austria and relied on the support of his brother-in-law Louis XVI and, after 1781, of Catherine II. But France opposed his attempt to open the Scheldt; both France and Russia resisted his attempt to secure Bavaria and he did not get the effective help he expected from either.

IV. General.

The people of Vienna placed on Joseph's statue the words "*Saluti publicæ vitæ non dā, sed tollit.*" But his well-meant schemes generally resulted in failure, and he suggested as his epitaph, "Here lies Joseph who failed in everything he undertook." His failure showed the fallacy of the theory of benevolent despotism.

His reforms had provoked strong opposition from all classes; before his death Hungary had compelled him to cancel most of his reforms; Turkey was at war with Austria; Prussia, which was negotiating treaties with Poland and Turkey, seemed likely to attack Austria; the Triple Alliance was suspicious of Austria, and Russia was too busy with Sweden to send help.

But his work in the Austrian territory proved permanent; "that feudal Austria has become an empire not unfitted to hold a forward place in the society of modern times is chiefly due to the legislation of Joseph."¹ The history of the nineteenth century proved the wisdom

¹ Bright.

of his desire to separate the Netherlands from Austria and the justice of his fear of Prussia. He did much real good; some of his unsuccessful plans proved more successful under more favourable conditions and with wiser guidance than he was qualified to give.

References:

Cambridge Modern History, Vol. VI.

Marie Theres and Joseph II (Deight), Macmillan.

Historical Studies, Joseph II (Mortimer), Longmans.

LEOPOLD II, 1790-1792

Joseph II's schemes seemed to have ruined Austria. His death enabled his brother Leopold II, who succeeded him as King of Hungary and Bohemia, to make concessions which averted the grave danger with which Austria was threatened. Leopold's policy was, in many ways, the direct opposite of Joseph's.

Leopold had become Grand Duke of Tuscany in 1785 and had made Tuscany into a united state which he governed admirably. He made his son Ferdinand, Grand Duke, and gave his whole attention to Austrian problems.

I. Austrian Territories.

Leopold saw that the differences which divided his territories rendered it impossible to effect the consolidation and union at which Joseph had aimed.

A. Austria, Bohemia and the Tyrol.

Leopold refused to withdraw the Edict of Toleration, but by suppressing the general assemblies, abolishing the new system of taxation and restoring to the provinces a large measure of self-government he gained the gratitude and support of his people.

B. Hungary.

In spite of Joseph's concessions Hungary was discontented. The nobles, instigated by Prussia and knowing that the Turkish War would harpess Leopold, determined to limit the authority of the King: the people of Buda-Pesth, influenced by the French Revolution, asserted the rights of nations and of man, adopted the Social Contract, declared that the sovereignty of Hungary was vested jointly in the King and people.

Leopold conciliated the nobles by summoning the Hungarian Diet, which had not met for fifty years: but when the danger from Prussia had been removed by the Convention of Reichenbach,¹ he occupied Hungary with a large army, refused to accept the new constitution the nobles desired, and was crowned King of Hungary on November 18th, 1790, on the old conditions.

He won over the nobles, who had been compelled to accept his authority, by introducing a new law which required that every King should be crowned within six months of his accession. The grateful Diet gave a large addition to the usual revenues; the popular movement in the towns was crushed. By a skilful combination of force and concession Leopold had re-established the royal power.

C. Belgium.

Before he left Florence, Leopold had confirmed the *Joyeuse Entrée* and offered an amnesty to the rebels, but his terms had been refused by Van der Noot.

(1) Differences in Belgium.

Differences arose between the Statists, led by Van der Noot, who desired a restoration of the old constitution under an elected government, and the Vonckists, who, influenced by the French Revolution, advocated more democratic government. After much disturbance the Statists, assisted by the priests, who

¹ Page 201.

regarded the Vendeists as athletes, proved successful, and Vaucl fled to Paris in April, 1790. In consequence the anti-Austrian party in the Netherlands was weakened and the National Assembly refused to send any help.

Noot's action in making a Prussian, Schönbeld, commander of the army instead of the Belgian, Van der Meer, caused much discontent; the clergy and nobles resented the authority exercised by the Assembly and the ascendancy of Van der Noot.

Thus the rebels were weakened by internal dissensions and could look for no help from abroad.

(2) The Austrians reconquer the Netherlands.

a. By the Convention of Rastebach in June, 1790, Austria had made an agreement with Prussia and an armistice with Turkey. She was therefore free to concentrate all her forces on the Netherlands.

b. After the Congress at Rastebach the Triple Alliance assented to the re-establishment of Austrian rule in the Netherlands. Leopold repeated the offers he had made in Florence, demanded the submission of the insurgents by November 23rd, 1790, failing which he would send an army of 30,000 Austrians into the Netherlands, refused the request of the Triple Alliance that he would prolong the armistice.

November 23rd, 1790. Invasion of the Netherlands by Bender; the people, who found that their new government had proved no better than the old, offered little opposition. Bender took Namur on November 24th and entered Brussels on December 2nd. Van der Noot fled. The new republic came to a sudden end.

Leopold refused to confirm a Convention, signed by his envoy, guaranteeing the constitu-

tion as under Charles VI, insisted on the more stringent terms of Maria Theresa and maintained his position, in spite of the disapproval of the Triple Alliance.

June 15th, 1791. The Archduchess Christina and her husband, Albert of Saxony re-entered Brussels as joint Viceroy.

I. Leopold and Germany.

October 4th, 1790. Leopold was crowned Emperor.

The Convention of Reichenbach¹ greatly strengthened the influence of Austria in Germany, and Leopold won popularity by supporting the princes of the Empire.

A. Liège.

Leopold compelled the Prussians to evacuate Liège; an Austrian army restored the Prince-Bishop to his former position.

B. The Rhine.

Leopold strongly opposed the claim of the Constituent Assembly to prevent the Rhine princes from giving shelter to royalist fugitives in Alsace, Lorraine and Flanders County.

C. Prussia.

Leopold was anxious to avoid war with Prussia, which would hinder him from reconquering the Netherlands and putting down disorder in Hungary. To win over Prussia he was willing to abandon the alliance with Russia, and he hoped by the moderation of his policy to win over Great Britain, which was hostile to Russia, and thus to weaken the Triple Alliance.

By the Convention of Reichenbach, 1790, he duped Prussia, asserted the supremacy of Austria in Germany and paved the way for his success in the Netherlands and Hungary. But Leopold was suspicious of the

¹ Page 287.

designs of Catherine II in Turkey and Poland and concerned about the revolutionary movement in France; he therefore completely reversed the policy Austria had long pursued and concluded on July 25th, 1791, a treaty with Prussia by which a free Constitution of Poland was guaranteed.

February, 1792. Treaty of Berlin between Prussia and Austria.

III. Foreign Policy.

A. Turkey. The Treaty of Sistova.

August 10th, 1791. Austria and Turkey restored their former boundaries, but by a separate agreement Orsova was given to Austria, in spite of the Convention of Reichenbach.

B. Leopold and the French Revolution.

(1) Leopold's position.

Leopold had suffered from revolution in the Netherlands and a revolutionary element had appeared in Hungary; he was devoted to his sister Maria Antonette, and as Emperor felt bound to protect the rights of the Rhine princes against the demands of the Constituent Assembly. But he was reluctant to go to war, which would leave Austria at the mercy of Russia. In the interests of Austria he felt bound to leave himself free to take any steps which might be necessitated by the actions of Turkey and Prussia, with whom he was not yet reconciled, and of Russia; he had little sympathy with the violence of the French despots at Coblenz.

(2) The Circular of Paden.

July 25th, 1791. Leopold was compelled to take action, owing to the failure of Louis XVI's flight to Varennes, and issued a Circular from Padua by which he invited the rulers of Europe to demand the release of Louis XVI and provide armed intervention if any

further indignities were offered to the French King, Queen or Royal Family.

(5) The Declaration of Pillnitz, 1791.

August 27th, 1791. Leopold and Frederick William II, who were now allies, issued the Declaration of Pillnitz declining to support the extreme plans of D'Artois and promising armed intervention if all the other Powers would co-operate. But Great Britain was definitely neutral and would not intervene, and thus the Declaration was an assurance of peace rather than war.

September 14th, 1791. By Leopold's edicts, Louis XVI accepted the new constitution.

February 7th, 1792. Seeing the impossibility of averting war with France, Leopold made with Frederick William II the Treaty of Berlin, by which each guaranteed the other's territories and agreed on mutual support in case France declared war.

March 1st, 1792. Death of Leopold.

April 20th, 1792. France declared war on Austria.

IV. General.

Although contrary to the Treaty of Reichensbach, Leopold had seized Geneva from the Turks and had refused to consent to the Convention drawn up at The Hague guaranteeing the Constitution of the Netherlands as under Charles VI, his policy generally was marked by moderation, common sense and tact. In two years he had remedied the evils that had arisen in the Austrian territories owing to Joseph's policy; he did his best to avert war with France, and with his death, which was a calamity for Europe, the last hope of peace perished.

Reference :

Revolutionary Europe (Morris Stephens), Birmingham, chap. iii.

ELIZABETH FARNESE, OCTOBER 25TH, 1692-JULY 30TH, 1766

I. General Policy.

The policy of Elizabeth Farnese was European rather than Spanish, and may be regarded as a successful attempt to reverse some of the most important clauses of the Peace of Utrecht. Her main object of securing Italian principalities for her sons Don Carlos and Don Philip led to relations, friendly or hostile, with the Empire, France, Savoy, Great Britain, Sweden, Russia, Prussia and the Italian States.

She was personally friendly towards France, but the desire of her husband Philip V to secure the Crown of France and Elizabeth's wish to obtain the aid of France in her Italian schemes and in opposition to Great Britain had an important effect on her policy.

The Spaniards strongly resented the occupation of Gibraltar by Great Britain and the attempt of the British to establish trade with the Spanish West Indies. But Elizabeth sometimes cultivated friendly relations with Great Britain in order to further her schemes in Italy.

II. The Italian Duchies.

Elizabeth was a thorough Italian. She resented the authority Charles VI had secured in Italy by the acquisition of the Milanese, Sicily and Naples. She feared that he would try to secure Parma and Tuscany. She was determined to weaken the Austrian supremacy and to ensure the succession of her sons to Florence and Parma, of which she was the direct heiress, and to Tuscany, to which she had claims owing to her descent from the Medici.

¹ Page 19.

A. The establishment of Don Carlos in Parma and Piacenza.

(1) *Alberoni*.¹

Charles VI wished to exchange Sardinia for Sicily, which had been granted to Savoy by the Peace of Utrecht. Alberoni wanted the exchange, partly because Sicily was to pass to Spain if the House of Savoy failed, partly because the occupation of Sicily by Austria would have menaced the power of Spain in the Mediterranean. He refused the suggestion made by Stanhope, that Charles, if allowed to exchange Sardinia for Sicily, should guarantee the succession of Don Carlos to² Parma and Piacenza; tried, unsuccessfully, to induce Russia and Prussia to attack Austria and Sweden to attack England; occupied Sardinia in November, 1717, and invaded Sicily in July, 1718.

The formation of the Quadruple Alliance and the British victory off Cape Passaro in August, 1718, led to the fall of Alberoni. But the Quadruple Alliance guaranteed the succession of Parma, Piacenza and Tuscany to Don Carlos or some other son of Elizabeth of Parma.

(2) *Ripperda*.³

A marriage alliance⁴ between France and Spain was made by Duboué, who wished to maintain friendship with both Spain and Great Britain.

(June 14th, 1724. Abolition of Philip V.

August 2nd, 1724. Death of King Louis.)

Charles VI had shown no intention of fulfilling his promise to give Parma, Piacenza and Tuscany to Don Carlos. But Austria was threatened by the Treaty of Hanover between Great Britain, France and Prussia⁵; Spain was affronted by the repudiation of the Infante and the marriage of Louis XV to Marie Leszczyńska; George I refused to restore Gibraltar. Largely owing to the diplomacy of Ripperda, Austria and Spain made

¹ Page 11.² Genealogical Tree, page 18.³ Page 26 et seq.⁴ Page 22.⁵ Page 23.

in November, 1725, the Secret Treaty of Vienna which arranged for the marriage of Don Carlos and Don Philip to two of Charles VI's daughters. But difficulties arose; Charles delayed the proposed marriage; the failure of Siggarda's plans was followed by his fall in May, 1734.

From this time Elizabeth relied upon Spanish ministers.

- (5) Don Carlos secured Parma, Piacenza and the succession to Tuscany.

The unprofitable Austrian alliance was unpopular in Spain; the birth of the Dauphin in 1759 extinguished Philip V's chance of securing the throne of France; the hatred Elizabeth had felt towards the British was now directed against the Emperor.

1733. By the Treaty of Seville, France and Great Britain guaranteed the succession of Don Carlos to Parma and Piacenza and agreed that Spanish troops should occupy the duchies.

- 1735.² Carlos secured Parma and Piacenza.

Thus Elizabeth had secured the modification of the Peace of Utrecht; made Spain, which in 1713 had been weak and divided, into a European power; secured a foothold in Italy; established Don Carlos as the master of Italian territory which divided the Austrians in the North of Italy from those in Naples.

B. Don Carlos obtains Naples.

- (1) The Treaty of Turin.

Elizabeth resolved to take advantage of the War of the Polish Succession to attack the Emperor and strengthen the Spanish position in Italy. The refusal of Charles Emmanuel³ to surrender Mantua and the hatred Elizabeth felt towards him prevented an alliance between Sardinia and Spain, each of which suspected the

² Page 28.

³ Who had become King of Sardinia on the abdication of Victor Amadeus, September, 1730.

other's designs on Italy. But the Treaty of Turin¹ between France and Sardinia guaranteed the succession of Don Carlos to the Two Sicilies and the cession of the Milanese to Sardinia. Thus the extension of Spanish power in the north of Italy, which would have threatened Sardinia, was averted.

(2) *The First Family Compact.*²

November 7th, 1733. By the First Family Compact, made by the Treaty of the Escurial, France and Spain swore eternal union; "provided that all other treaties between France and Spain and between their Majesties and other powers shall no longer have effect between France and Spain," i.e. annulled the Peace of Utrecht; secured to Don Carlos Parma, Piacenza and Tuscany and, subject to the Treaty of Turin, any other conquests he might make in Italy.

(3) *The war in Italy.*³

(4) July, 1735. Don Carlos crowned King of the Two Sicilies at Palermo.

(5) October 3rd, 1735. By the Preliminaries of the Treaty of Vienna, Don Carlos gave up Parma and Piacenza to the Emperor and the succession to Tuscany to the Duke of Lorraine and received the Two Sicilies and the Friuli.

C. Don Philip obtains Parma, Piacenza and Genetella.

The War of the Austrian Succession gave another opening for Elizabeth. She strongly resented the cession of Tuscany to Lorraine; she wished to secure Parma and Piacenza for Don Philip, but realised that Sardinia would oppose the extension of Spanish power in the north of Italy.

The marriage of Don Philip in 1739 to Louise Elizabeth of France strengthened the union of France and Spain, but the French were not popular in Spain; Henry was

¹ Page 87.

² Page 51.

³ Page 38.

disappointed because Elizabeth refused to make a commercial treaty with France; Elizabeth was disappointed that France did not help her in the "War of Jenkins' Ear" which broke out with Great Britain in 1739.

On the death of Charles VI in 1740 Philip V claimed all the hereditary possessions of the Hapsburgs; but the main object of Philip and Elizabeth was to obtain the Italian provinces. Elizabeth refused to adopt Fleury's suggestion that Spain and Sardinia should unite against the Austrians in Italy and determined to act alone.

December, 1741. Montemar landed a Spanish force at Cádiz. But a British fleet threatened to bombard Naples and compelled Charles III¹ to withdraw Neapolitan troops from the North; Gages was routed at Campo Santo on February 28th, 1743, and Elizabeth made overtures to Charles Emmanuel.

September 12th, 1743. Great Britain, anxious to secure the co-operation of Sardinia, compelled Maria Theresa to make with Charles Emmanuel the Treaty of Worms by which she ceded to him Parma, Piacenza and part of the Milanese.

October, 1743. France, which had recently declared war on Sardinia, made with Spain the Second Family Compact,² by which she promised the Milanese, Parma and Piacenza to Don Philip.

1744-1748. The war in Italy (page 25).

1748. By the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, Don Philip obtained Parma, Piacenza and Guastalla; Spain gave up Savoy and Nice to Charles Emmanuel.

D. General.

Elizabeth had made ample provision for her sons, and by establishing Spanish influence in Italy had returned to the policy of Ferdinand the Catholic. She had averted the danger from Sardinia and triumphed, in spite of the somewhat shifty diplomacy of France.

She was a thorough Italian, and her success, largely

¹ Don Carlos.

² Page 32.

due to a desire to aggrandize her own family, expelled the Austrians from a considerable portion of Italy, and both Don Carlos and Don Philip were warmly welcomed by their new subjects.

Elizabeth strongly objected to D'Angenese's scheme for uniting Italy under the leadership of Sardinia. But the union of Nice and Savoy strengthened Sardinia, which in the nineteenth century was destined to become the head of a united Italy.

III. Spain and Great Britain.

A. Causes of disagreement.

(1) Gibraltar.

The Spaniards strongly resented the cession of Gibraltar to Great Britain by the Peace of Utrecht. In 1761 George I promised to restore Gibraltar to Spain, but the promise was not kept. Assistance in the recovery of Gibraltar was promised by the Emperor Charles VI, by the Treaty of Vienna,¹ in 1738; by France, by the Treaty of the Escurial,² in 1763; and the Treaty of Fontenoy-Bless,³ in 1763.

(2) The West Indies.

1767. Although war was not formally declared against Great Britain, the Spaniards unsuccessfully besieged Gibraltar, hoping to secure the help of Charles VI in accordance with the Treaty of Vienna. The fear that if Spain formally declared war France would help Great Britain prevented a declaration of war.

By the *Asiento*, a contract which formed part of the Peace of Utrecht, British trade with the Spanish Indies was limited to the right of importing into America 4800 slaves a year for thirty years and of sending one ship a year to Portobello. The contract led to persistent smuggling on the part of the British and to reprisals by the Spanish *perfeccionistas*. The British claim to the right of cutting ingrued in

¹ Page 26.

² Page 27.

³ Page 28.

Handover and disputes as to the boundary of Georgia, colonised by Britain in 1733, aggravated the ill-feeling between the countries.

The development of commerce and industry in Spain made the Indies of great importance as an outlet for trade, and the British trade tended to reduce the commercial value to Spain of the Spanish colonies.

The dispute assumed a religious aspect. Captured British sailors were handed over to the Inquisition, and "Papists and gorda-coats were almost convertible terms."

[Great indignation was caused by the discovery that the Moors of Oran, who revolted the Spaniards in 1763, were using English cannon and gunpowder, and by the despatch of Haddock's squadron to the coast of Spain in May, 1763.]

B. War.

War was averted for some time owing to the pacific policy of Walpole; Dubois and Fleury wished to remain on friendly terms with Great Britain, and Spain got no help from France, in spite of the Family Compact of 1733 and the recent marriage of Don Philip to Louise Elizabeth.

1763. The gorda-coats seized the British ship *Eden*, and her captain, Jenkins, lost his ear.

January, 1763. A Convention was made between Spain and Great Britain which seemed to conclude the dispute. But the opposition, more anxious to oust Walpole from power than to avoid a war, protested against the continuance of the Spanish right of search in the West Indies; the refusal of Spain to admit claims made by the South Sea Company; the reduction, on account of Spanish losses in the battle of Cape Passaro, of the amount payable as compensation by Spain by £60,000.

"At a decisive moment, when the tension between the

Sevillian Courts was enormous, when Spain might easily have been attracted into an intimate alliance, the exigencies of the Parliamentary opposition and the aversion of a handful of speculative merchants drove Spain back into the arms of France, tampering the substantial renewal of the abortive Family Compact of 1703.¹⁴

The War of Jenkins' Ear.

October 23rd, 1739. Walpole forced by popular clamour to declare war against Spain.

November 21st, 1739. Vernon captured Porto Bello.
1741. Failure of British attack on Cartagena and Cuba.
1743. Great Britain joined Austria and Sardinia in the War of the Austrian Succession.

1743. The British fleet compelled the Neapolitan troops to leave Gages' army.

February, 1744. Indecisive action off Toulon by the British fleet under Mathews and a combined French and Spanish fleet.

1748. Spain accepted the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle and made peace with Great Britain.

C. The Pretender.

The Spaniards endeavoured, unsuccessfully, to weaken Great Britain by supporting the Pretender.

1717. Albornoz tried to induce the King of Sweden to invade England and proclaim the Pretender as King.

March, 1718. A Spanish fleet, carrying Jacobites to Scotland, was wrecked off Cape Finisterre. Surrender of the Jacobites and Spaniards, who had escaped, at Glenside.

1735. On Ripperda's return from Vienna the Pretender's restoration became a prominent feature of Elizabeth's programme, and an invasion of England was planned on his behalf.

¹⁴ Armstrong, Elizabeth Foxworth, page 328.

D. *Treaties with Great Britain.*

Although the causes of dissatisfaction between Spain and Great Britain continued, circumstances sometimes led to friendly relations between the two Powers. Walpole, Orleans and Henry strove to maintain peace between Great Britain and France, and French statesmen often attempted to reconcile Spain and Britain.

June, 1721. Largely owing to the efforts of Orleans, Great Britain and Spain joined France in a defensive alliance.

November 9th, 1729. Owing to the treachery of the Emperor Charles VI to surrender the Italian Duchies to Don Carlos, Spain made the Treaty of Seville with Great Britain and France, who agreed that Spanish garrisons should be introduced into Parma and Piacenza.

IV. *Portugal.*

The marriage of Elizabeth's stepson Ferdinand (VI) to Barbara of Portugal, and of her daughter Maria Anne to Joseph, Prince of Brazil,¹ established friendly relations between Spain and Portugal.

V. *Elizabeth and Spain.*A. *Philip V.*

Elizabeth gained great influence² over her weak husband Philip, to whom she was sincerely attached; her "constant presence became a necessity of his life"; except for a quarter of an hour a day, when her attendant was putting on her shoes and stockings, and for about an hour and a half each week, when Philip was attending a Council meeting, Elizabeth was always with her husband. To dispel the melancholia from which Philip suffered she engaged Farinelli to sing to him, and Farinelli sang the same five songs for about three thousand nights in succession "to the intemperate King who howled them after him song for song."

¹ King Joseph Emmanuel of Portugal, 1719-1777.

² See Elizabeth Farnese, chap. viii.

B. The recovery of Spain.

Elizabeth, "the Savoyard," was unpopular in Spain; "the Spaniards do not like me, but I hate them too." But she gave the country vigour and acted "as a disagreeable tonic to Spain." Her astute policy led to the revival of the military and naval powers of Spain. "Spain was a military nation, which decays in peace. . . . Elizabeth found for it adventure and stirred its energies."

Both Albornoz and Riperda strengthened the ports, built arsenals and shipbuilding yards, and increased the navy. Albornoz endeavoured to extend Spanish trade and stimulated industry and commerce; Riperda supported the Spanish wool trade and projected a Bank of Madrid; both adopted a policy of Protection; everything depended on the trade with the Indies, and the revival of Spanish commerce necessitated successful opposition to British trade with the Spanish colonies.

But "the indispensable sequelae was time," and the early fall of Albornoz and Riperda prevented Spain from becoming a great commercial and industrial country, while "the dynastic interests of Elizabeth Ferrus placed Spain in a false position and hampered the work of reform."

C. Elizabeth Italian rather than Spanish.

Elizabeth's influence on Spain was indirect; "the nation never assimilated her, nor she the nation." Her main interests were Italian; but the establishment of Don Carlos and Don Ferrus in Italy greatly increased the prestige of Spain.

VI. General

A. Historical importance.

Elizabeth, prompted by her intense sympathy with Italy and her love for her own family, did much to weaken in Italy the Austrian influence which had been

established by the Peace of Utrecht. Italy affected the policy of Austria, France and Spain, and it is not too much to say that Elizabeth altered the political system of Europe.

For the first twelve years of her reign she was under the influence of Alarón and Ripperdá. But for the last twenty she relied upon Spaurín—Fático, La Quadra and Escudé—and was her own mistress.

B. Personal.

Elizabeth was impulsive and ambitious; her practical ability, skilful diplomacy and steadiness of purpose enabled her to attain her main object of establishing her sons as rulers of Italian states. "She applied to politics an absolute and inflexible will."

Philip and Elizabeth maintained in their Court a high standard of honour, and their unswerving moral characters compared favourably with those of other European monarchs. Elizabeth's high spirits, her conversational powers, her passion for her children's advancement, enabled her to endure the appalling monotony of Court life; but her hot temper sometimes added to the difficulties of "the tortoise of Spain."

References:

- Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. VI, chaps. iv, v.
Elizabeth Forens (Armstrong), Longmans.

SPAIN UNDER FERDINAND VI AND CHARLES III, 1746-1788

I. Ferdinand VI, 1746-1788.

On the accession of her stepson Ferdinand VI, son of Philip V and Louise of Savoy, Elizabeth Forens lost the influence she had so long exercised in Spanish politics.

A. Foreign policy.

(1) Ferdinand's prudent neutrality.

Ferdinand's wife, Isabella of Portugal, a descendant of John of Gaunt, and the Foreign Ministers Cevallos and Wall, an Irishman, favoured more friendly relations with Great Britain; the attempt of Tejada, the Minister for War, to form a close alliance with France failed, largely owing to the skill of the British ambassador, Sir Benjamin Keane.

In 1756 France tried to secure the active help of Spain and offered to cede Minorca; Great Britain offered to give up Gibraltar in return for a Spanish alliance; Maria Theresa appealed to Ferdinand, who was a devoted Roman Catholic, to join her in an attempt to anticipate heresy.

But Ferdinand realised that peace was essential for the reforms that Spain badly needed; he was unwilling to use the resources of Spain to protect Bourbon interests; he refused to make a close alliance with any power and in foreign politics adopted a policy of prudent neutrality.

(2) Some details.

a. The Settlement of Italy, 1748.

The defeat of the French at Baillet¹ on July 16th, 1747, practically ended the war in Italy.

By the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle² Ferdinand was compelled to restore Nice and Savoy to Charles Emmanuel, but secured the recognition of Don Philip as Duke of Parma, Piacenza and Guastalla.

b. Commercial treaty with Great Britain.

October, 1748. By the Treaty of Aquilgras Great Britain secured the recognition of her commercial privileges in Spanish America and gave up the Asiento³ on payment of £100,000.

c. Treaty of Amiens 1752 (page 190).

¹ Page 96.² Page 95.³ Vol. II, page 226.

B. Internal policy.

Important reforms were effected in Spain largely owing to Ensenada, who reorganised taxation, improved agriculture, made canals and roads and, in anticipation of possible war with England, reorganised the navy and constructed a strong naval base at Ferrol.

Ferdinand "had found the country's finances, raised and the navy in a state of decay; he left a formidable fleet and a balance of three millions sterling in the national treasury."

II. Charles III, 1759-1788.

Charles King of the Two Sicilies, son of Philip V and Elizabeth Parana, succeeded his half-brother. He resigned to his son Ferdinand the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, where, with the assistance of Taurasi, he had introduced many measures of reform. The insanity of Ferdinand VI, following the death of Queen Barbara on August 25th, 1758, had hindered the development of Spain, and Charles' wife, Queen Maria Amalia of Saxony, strongly supported the continuance of a peaceful policy. But her death in July, 1763, Charles' strong sympathy with France, his resentment at British aggression in the Spanish Indies, and the skilful diplomacy of Choiseul led to alliance with France and war with Great Britain.

A. Spain, France and Great Britain.

(1) The Seven Years' War.

a. The declaration of War.

Great Britain rejected the offer of mediation made by Charles III. Charles was annoyed at the contraband trade which Great Britain carried on with Spanish colonies, at the settlements made by Great Britain in Honduras, at the searching of Spanish ships by British post-war and at the refusal of Great Britain to allow Spaniards to fish off Newfoundland; he

resented Pitt's refusal to redress the Spanish grievances; he feared that if Great Britain was successful in the Seven Years' War she would attack the Spanish colonies.

1763. Charles III made the *Family Compact* with France. Pitt resigned because Parliament refused to declare war on Spain, and thus gave Charles time to complete his naval and military preparations.

January, 1763. Great Britain declared war on Spain.

4. The War (page 143).

1761-1762. Failure of Aranda's invasion of Portugal which followed the refusal of King Joseph to close his ports to British shipping.^a

1762. The British took Martinique (February), Havana (August) and Manila (September).

a. The Peace of Paris, 1763.

February 10th, 1763. By the Peace of Paris Great Britain restored Havana and Manila, received Florida and the right of cutting log-wood in Honduras. The Spaniards evacuated Portugal and restored Sacramento.

(3) The Falkland Isles.

Ill-feeling between Spain and Great Britain continued owing to British smuggling in Spanish America and to Charles' refusal to pay a ransom for Manila.

1770. Spanish troops expelled the British sailors from the Falkland Isles. The fall of Chokoval so weakened Spain that Charles was compelled to restore the Falkland Isles. He then averted war which had seemed imminent.

(4) Great Britain and the American Colonies.

The death of King Joseph and the fall of Pombal in 1777 enabled Florida Blanca to make a perpetual alliance with Portugal which greatly strengthened Spain.

^a Page 136.

^b Page 144.

[This alliance was strengthened in 1763 by the marriage of a son and granddaughter of Charles III to a Portuguese princess and prince.]

June, 1778. Charles, who had vainly offered to mediate between France and Great Britain in the hope of getting Gibraltar, declined war.

1780. Florida Blanca supported the Armed Neutrality of the North.¹

1779-1782. Siege of Gibraltar.²

February, 1782. A Franco-Spanish force took Minorca.

1783. By the Treaty of Versailles³, Charles obtained Florida and Minorca, but not Gibraltar.

B. Internal policy.

(1) Florida Blanca's reforms.

Florida Blanca, assisted by Campomanes, carried on the work of reform. Oppressive taxes were abolished or reduced and an income-tax imposed; the National Bank was founded. Free trade was established with the colonies. Manufactures were stimulated by Government patronage and protected by tariffs from foreign competition. New roads were made; the Canal of Aragon was extended, that of Old Castile-commenced. Agriculture improved; many trees were planted and the prohibition on enclosures was removed. New schools were founded and the work of the Universities prospered. The laws were codified and a more efficient system of police established.

Treaties made with Constantinople (1782), Tripoli (1784), Algiers and Tunis (1786) protected the Mediterranean coasts from piracy and promoted the extension of agriculture and the increase of population.

The cost of the new measures was met partly by the confiscation of the property of the Jesuits, partly by a special levy on clerical incomes. The heavy cost of the war against Britain hampered the work of re-organising the country.

¹ Page 186.

² Page 188.

³ Page 178.

(2) *The Church.*

Although Charles III was a devout Roman Catholic he asserted his authority over the Church. The amount of land held in Mortmain was limited; Papal interference was checked; the powers of the Inquisition were restricted; bishops and clergy were compelled to obey the King.

The feeling against the Jesuits, which had led to their expulsion from Portugal in 1760¹ and France in 1764² led to their expulsion from Spain in 1767.

Aranda, a disciple of Voltaire, was opposed to them; they were accused of opposing the authority of the King and of stirring up riots in Madrid.

March 25th, 1767. Six Jesuit colleges were suppressed in Madrid.

April 2nd, 1767. All Jesuits expelled without warning from Spain.

C. *General.*

Charles III was a pious and industrious King whose successful experience in Sicily enabled him to do much to promote the best interests of Spain in spite of the war with Britain. He was a benevolent despot and his power was absolute; he never summoned the Cortes after his accession and asserted his authority over the Church. But his successor, Charles IV, proved weak and incapable, and under him Spain fell into its old condition of distress, stagnation and anarchy.

References:

Cambridge Modern History, Vol. VI, chap. xii.

POMBAL

I. *General.*A. *Portugal.*

Joseph de Carvalho e Mello, created Marquis of Pombal by King Joseph I in 1760, was one of the

¹ Page 267.

² Page 67.

greatest of the Liberal statesmen of the eighteenth century. He was Portuguese ambassador in England from 1739-1745 and in Vienna from 1745-1754. In 1759 he was appointed Foreign Secretary and became practically the absolute ruler of Portugal under King Joseph I, 1759-1777.

B. The condition of Portugal.

Portugal in 1750 was "well-nigh moribund." John V (1705-1750) had been the slave of the Jesuits, and the heavy payments he made to Rome had impoverished the country. The nobles were unwise, the administration incompetent and corrupt. Great Britain controlled Portuguese commerce. The army was inefficient, brigandage was common, foreign trade with the East had almost ceased.

II. The Work of Pombal.

A. Trade and the Colonies.

Pombal wished to make Portugal independent of British trade by developing the resources of the country and her colonies. He adopted a system of protection and allowed nobles to engage in trade. His policy was enlightened, but he was reticent in carrying it out.

(1) Agriculture.

He did all he could to foster agriculture in the hope of making Portugal self-supporting.

1763. Formation of the Oporto Wine Company which had a first claim on local wines. The British strongly resented this measure, which hampered their trade and which they regarded as a violation of the rights given to them by the Methuen Treaty of 1703.

(2) Paraguay.

1763. Spain ceded to Portugal a portion of Paraguay bordering on Brazil.

1763. Pombal formed the *Permanence and Paralia* Companies to develop trade in Paraguay and emancipated the Indians in certain districts.

Strong resistance of the Jesuits, who objected to the transfer from Spain to Portugal of the territory which they had opened up, and resented the competition of the new companies with their trade.

(3) The East Indies.

1776. Pombal recognised the government of Goa.

(4) Morocco.

A commercial treaty with Morocco stimulated trade and diminished the danger from piracy.

B. The earthquake at Lisbon, 1755.

November 1st, 1755. An earthquake, followed by a tidal wave, destroyed Lisbon; 30,000 people perished. Pombal relieved distress and was mainly responsible for the rebuilding of the city.

C. The Church.

The Church opposed Pombal's reforms.

(1) The Inquisition.

He limited the authority of the Inquisition which was required to obtain royal authority for *auto-da-fé*.

(2) The Jesuits.

Pombal secured the dismissal of Morcín, the King's confessor, and the exclusion of Jesuits from the Court.

1763. Owing to the opposition the Jesuits had offered in Paraguay, Pombal complained to Pope Benedict XIV, whose representative, Cardinal Saldanha, ordered the Jesuits to give up trade and to cease from proselytising.

1758. Banishment of the Marquis of Tancos, who, like most of his class, strongly objected to the limitation of the privileges of the nobles, on a charge of plotting to assassinate the King. The Jesuits were accused of complicity.

January 18th, 1759. Confiscation of the estates of the Jesuits.

September, 1759. Expulsion of the Jesuits from Portugal, Brazil and the East Indies.

D. The Army and Navy.

A British force had helped Portugal in 1762.¹ Pombal resolved to create a Portuguese army strong enough to defend the country, and a force of 25,000 men was organised and trained according to Prussian methods. Fortresses were strengthened and a navy of nineteen ships established.

E. Education.

The Jesuit schools were replaced by 537 elementary and secondary schools; a Royal College of Nobles, administered by laymen, was established at Lisbon; the University of Coimbra was taken from the Jesuits and remodelled. A Commercial School was founded in Lisbon.

F. Other reforms.

Pombal improved the Civil Service, simplified legal procedure, reduced the cost of government and checked the corruption of officials.

On the death of Joseph I on February 25th, 1777, Pombal was deprived of office and banished to his estates. Queen Maria, the wife of Pedro III, continued his policy, to some extent.

References:

Cambridge Modern History, Vol. VI, pp. 224-228.

The Balance of Power (Hansell), Rivingtons, pp. 260-292.

¹ Page 146.

THE REIGN OF LOUIS XVI, 1774-1792

The study of the conditions of France under Louis XV³ reveals the chief causes which led to the French Revolution. But the people of France were devoted to the Monarchy, and the Revolution might have been averted if Louis XVI had introduced constitutional government and established the finances on a sound basis. His failure precipitated the "deluge" which Louis XV had foretold.

I. The Accession of Louis XVI.

Louis XVI, grandson of Louis XV, was a man of strictly moral life and simple tastes; he was very fond of hunting, and spent much time working in his blacksmith's shop: one of his nicknames was "the blacksmith." He sincerely desired to rule for the good of his people. But he was awkward, tactless, indolent and utterly lacking in determination and self-confidence.

May, 1774, Louis (XVI) married Marie Antoinette, daughter of Maria Theresa. Her frivolity, extravagance, indiscretion, the perverse influence she exercised over her weak husband and her interference with his ministers aroused that hatred of "L'Autrichienne" which was one of the minor causes of the Revolution.

II. The Finances.

A. Turget, August, 1774-May, 1778.

Louis dismissed the triumvirate⁴ Maupeou, Terray, and d'Alqulle, and appointed as chief minister the aged Count de Maurepas, who confirmed the King in his reluctance to act with the decision that the times required. Louis made Vergennes Foreign Minister; he

³ Pages 41-49.

⁴ Page 44.

made Turgot Minister of Marine and, in August, 1774, Controller-General of Finance. In July 1775 Malou-bergues became Minister of the Interior.

Turgot had shown himself a just and able administrator as Intendant of Limousin; he was a statesman anxious to remedy the evils of the time which he clearly perceived, but hasty of temper and indiscreet in language. He also was to raise no new loans and impose no new taxes but to avoid national bankruptcy by rigorous economy.

(2) The restoration of the Parliament.

August, 1774. Against Turgot's advice Louis XVI recalled the Parliament which by its factionalism and opposition to reform helped to bring on the Revolution.

(3) Turgot's reforms.

a. Financial.

Turgot "introduced new order and method into every part of the financial administration." He abolished useless offices, established financial control over all departments of State, stopped the payment of gratuities to Farmers-General, checked the extravagance of the Court and reformed the system of Government contracts.

He suppressed the *corvée*, which he replaced by a tax on landowners, and the *fermages*, or privileges of the guilds; he abolished all restrictions on the corn and wine trades. In time these measures would have brought great relief to peasants and artisans. They were opposed by the Parliament, but carried at a *lit de justice*² on March 12th, 1774.

Turgot's policy proved more successful. He changed an annual deficit of twenty-one million livres into a surplus of eleven; he aroused such confidence that he raised a heavy loan from Dutch bankers at only four per cent.

A. Administrative.

Turgot opposed the idea of summoning the States-General, but formed a plan for improving the administration by establishing a series of elective assemblies in parishes, municipalities and provinces at the head of which was to be a supreme council formed of ministers and provincial representatives. Turgot fell from power before he could carry out this plan.

(2) Turgot's fall.

The bad harvest of 1778 caused distress among the peasantry and bread riots broke out; discontented officials, guild members, courtiers and nobles, the Parliament, the King's brothers and Marie Antoinette, who openly showed her opposition to Turgot, conspired against him.

May 12th, 1778. Louis XVI, unable to resist their pressure, dismissed the only man who could have saved France.

B. Necker, October, 1776-May, 1781.

(1) Reaction.

Malesherbes, who had tried to reform prisons, to remove the legal disabilities of Protestants, to abolish torture and *letens de ordet*, retired in May, 1776, owing to the opposition of the Queen and Maupeou. Under Clugny, the new Controller-General, the *corvée*, *faroules* and restrictions on *saux* were reimposed; a royal lottery was arranged to raise funds.

(2) Policy of Necker.

October 22nd, 1776. Necker, a successful Swiss banker, was appointed Director of the Treasury, but as he was a Protestant he was not made Controller-General nor a member of the Royal Council. He checked the reaction against Turgot's policy, with which he had much sympathy; favoured the

establishment of provincial assemblies; reduced tiths, Court-expenses and pensions; made more advantageous arrangements for the farming of taxes.

The cost to France of the American War (1778-1783), which Turgot and Necker had strongly opposed, was not less than £80,000,000 and made the reform of the finances impossible, while the success of the Americans strengthened the demand for popular government in France. Necker met the difficulty by floating loans, amounting to about £30,000,000 livres, which his financial reputation enabled him to raise on excellent terms, but which proved an intolerable burden.

January, 1782. Necker issued the *Compte Rendu de l'État des finances*, and thus for the first time a public statement of the financial position was issued. The *Compte Rendu* gave far too favourable an account of the position, but won great popularity for Necker.

May 12th, 1781. Fall of Necker, largely owing to the jealousy of Mairieux.

Necker prepared the way for the Revolution by giving new power to provincial assemblies; "his taxation led to the States-General, his loans gave the people convincing insight into the condition of the finances."¹ The period of administrative reform ended with his fall.

C. Calonne, December, 1788-April, 1789.

D'Ossun, Controller-General for seven months in 1788, by postponing the payment of public obligations had practically confessed that France was bankrupt. He was succeeded by Calonne, who owed his appointment to the influence of the Comte d'Artois and the ladies of the Court.

(1) Calonne's reckless policy.

Calonne attempted to disguise the financial position by lavish expenditure. He tried to win the favour of

¹ *Richie*.

the Royal Family by buying St. Cloud for the King and paying the debts of his brothers; he spent vast sums on roads and harbours. The revenue increased greatly owing to the peace, to the development of trade with America, to a commercial treaty concluded with England in 1786, to excellent harvests. But expenditure exceeded income and, in spite of the opposition of Parliament, Calonne tried to meet it by raising enormous loans which made the financial position worse. "Since the outbreak of the American war the deficit had grown to the enormous sum of 140 millions."¹

(3) The Queen.

The Queen had two sons,² and the Duke of Orleans, who had hoped to succeed to the throne, became more embittered towards the Royal Family. In 1788 the Cardinal de Rohan was accused of purchasing a diamond necklace for the Queen in order to win her favour, and of forging her signature; the grave scandal that arose seriously affected the Queen.

(3) The fall of Calonne.

In 1788, finding the position hopeless, Calonne returned to the policy of Turgot; advocated the establishment of provincial assemblies and the imposition of a stamp tax and a land tax to which all should be liable; proposed to suppress the *carrée*, diminish the gabelle and remove Customs duties. Knowing that the Parliament would resist these proposals, he persuaded the King to summon an Assembly of Notables which he hoped would support them. The Assembly, in which the Third Estate had few representatives, met on February 22nd, 1787. The Assembly of Notables declared against Calonne's proposals and drove him from office on April 17th.

¹ Russell.

² The elder died in 1788.

D. Lamoignon de Brienne.

Lamoignon de Brienne, Archbishop of Toulouse, now became chief of the Council of Finance.

(1) The Assembly of Notables.

The Assembly granted Brienne's request for a new loan of 80,000,000 livres, but refused to agree to the stamp tax or land tax and was dismissed on May 25th, 1787.

The Assembly had done nothing to relieve the financial stress, had lowered the prestige of the Crown by its successful opposition to Calonne, had embittered the people against the nobles and clergy by insisting on the right of the latter to privilege in taxation.

(2) The Parliament of Paris.

The Parliament registered decrees abolishing restrictions on the corn trade, establishing provincial assemblies and changing the *corvée* into a money tax, but refused to accept the stamp tax or land tax, and asserted that the right to levy a tax rested solely with the States-General.

August 24th, 1787. The decrees were passed by a *lit de justice*.

August 24th, 1787. Parliament denied the validity of a *lit de justice* and thus gained, temporarily, great popularity.

August 14th, 1787. Louis XVI called the Parliament to Troyes.

September 24th, 1787. Louis XVI and Brienne agreed to drop the demand for the stamp and land tax, and the Parliament returned to Paris.

May 6th, 1788. Brienne persuaded Louis to hold a *lit de justice*, which opposed the Parliament, established a *Cour Plénière* in its place and confined Provincial Parliaments to judicial work.

The Parliament of Paris had devised no constructive financial policy and had hampered proposals which

might have had good effect. It had shown the inability of the Government to deal with the financial problem and strengthened the demand for a revival of the States-General as the only possible means of financial reform; in March, 1788, the deficit amounted to 180,000,000 livres. The Government had been further discredited by its unsuccessful attempt to support the opponents of the Stadtholder in Holland¹ in 1787.

(3) Provincial Parliaments.

The edicts of May 18th, 1788, provoked strong resentment in the provinces, which greatly valued the old provincial privileges.

a. Brittany.

The Parliament refused to accept the edicts; the Estates sent a protest to Paris.

b. Dauphiny.

June, 1788. The nobles summoned a meeting of the Estates of Dauphiny which met at Villefranche on July 21st and, under the able leadership of Mounier, "condemned the Edicts of May, demanded the convocation of the States-General and of the Estates in each Province and required that in the Estates of Dauphiny the Third Estate should have as many representatives as the nobles and clergy together."

... An entire Province had given itself a political constitution, and had announced its resolve to gain one for the whole Kingdom."²

August 19th, 1788. Brienne announced a national bankruptcy.

(4) The King declares Brienne.

The King, knowing he could not depend on the army, which was permeated with revolutionary ideas

¹ Page 228.

² *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. VIII, pp. 118, 124.

and respectful of the Prussian discipline which had been recently introduced, gave way. He dismissed Brienne on August 25th, 1788, suspended the *Cour Plénière*, restored the Parliament, summoned the States-General to meet on May 1st, 1789; recalled Necker as Minister of Finance on August 27th, 1788.

III. The States-General.

A. Some difficulties.

The States-General had not met since 1614. It had never legislated; its attitude towards the King had been that of petitioners upon whose petitions subsequent legislation might be based; it had not possessed the right of initiative in financial matters; the re-establishment of the States-General in its old form was not incompatible with absolute monarchy. But absolute monarchy had utterly failed as a means of government, and the cahiers, or lists of grievances presented to the deputies by their constituents, showed that the people expected the States-General to undertake any work necessary for the salvation of France. The King regarded the States-General as "a great financial expedient" which would remove the national debt.

(i) The cahiers.

The cahiers revealed a general demand for freedom and self-government, uniform justice, the suppression of privilege in taxation and a direct tax on land. The cahiers of the Church demanded that, except in taxation, clerical privileges should be maintained; the nobles wished to establish a constitutional monarchy founded on aristocratic institutions and maintaining their own social and political privileges. But the cahiers of the *Tiers État* demanded an alteration in the material condition of the Church and the abolition of all feudal privileges; their aim was to sweep away all privileges which made the nobles and clergy

separate parts of the State and to establish civil and political equality. A conflict between the Estates seemed inevitable.

(2) The Third Estate.

The three Estates had been equal in number and had sat separately. But the Tiers État had become much more important owing to the development of commerce and industry, and was determined to secure predominance. "What," asked the Abbé Sieyès in his famous pamphlet *Qu'est-ce que le Tiers État*, "is the Third Estate? Everything. What has it been until now in the political order? Nothing. What does it ask to be? Something." To ensure its own supremacy the Tiers État demanded that it should have as many members as the other two classes combined and that all members should sit together.

The Parliament resisted the demands of the Tiers État and so lost all its popularity. On Necker's advice the King sanctioned the hostile representation of the Tiers État, but the majority of the nobles, influenced by the Queen and the Comte d'Artois, refused to agree to a common session.

(3) Method of election.

New methods of election were successfully devised. Practically every noble of the age of twenty-five, and all the higher clergy and parish priests, had a vote; in the Tiers État every Frenchman of twenty-five years of age who was entered on the register of taxes had a vote.

B. The opening.

May 24th, 1789. The King opened the States-General at Versailles.

References:

The Balance of Power (Russell), Birmingtons, chap. xiv.
Cambridge Modern History, Vol. VIII, chap. 17.

The French Revolution (Gardiner) ; *Epochs of Modern History*, Longmans, chaps. I, II.

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THE NATIONAL OR CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY, JUNE 17TH, 1789— SEPTEMBER, 30TH, 1791

I. The States-General.

A. Constitution.

The States-General numbered 1314, including 368 clergymen, of whom two-thirds were parish priests, 385 nobles and 661 members of the *Tiers État*. Of the *Tiers État* 560 were lawyers or concerned in the administration of justice.

The deputies lacked political experience, and the King lost a great opportunity by failing to seize the opportunity of giving a strong lead. But the King, who regarded the States-General merely as "a great financial expedient," was resolved to maintain his prerogative and was unable to understand the meaning of a constitutional monarchy founded on democratic institutions. Although sincerely anxious to redress grievances, he utterly failed to work in harmony with the Assembly; any concessions he made seemed to be extorted from him and gained him no popularity.

B. The victory of the *Tiers État*.

The *Tiers État* secured an advantage by occupying the Hall of the Estates and, finding that the nobles and clergy refused their invitation to a joint session for the

THE NATIONAL OR CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY 231

verification of powers, began this work themselves with some of the parish priests on June 12th and elected Bailly as President.

(1) The National Assembly.

June 17th, 1789. The *Tiers État* took the name of the National Assembly, thus ignoring the existence of the other Estates and securing the leadership of the nation. The nobles sent a protest to the King against the usurpation of the *Tiers État*.

June 18th, 1789. The clergy, by a majority of one, decided to join the *Tiers État*.

(2) The Tennis-court Oath.

June 20th, 1789. The *Tiers État*, being excluded from the Hall of the Estates, met on the tennis court at Versailles and took the Tennis-court Oath not to separate until "the constitution of the Kingdom had been established and confirmed on solid foundations."

This action, which was a declaration of war against the old absolute monarchy, was the definite beginning of the French Revolution.

(3) The Royal Session.

June 23rd, 1789. The King, in a *Royal Session*, made important concessions, but declared the edicts of June 17th illegal, and insisted that the Estates should meet separately and ordered the Assembly to dissolve immediately and meet in separate session the next day. Withdrawal of the King followed by most of the nobles and some of the higher clergy. Refusal of the rest to leave their seats except as Mirabeau declared, "at the point of the bayonet." Sieyès assured the Assembly, "Gentlemen, you are to-day what you were yesterday."

The Assembly continued to sit, unanimously re-affirmed their former decrees and, on the proposal of Mirabeau, declared the persons of its members inviolable.

The Royal Session showed clearly the weakness of the Crown. It was a victory for the Assembly, which asserted the sovereignty of the people over the King who had failed to maintain his sacred and undoubted prerogative. It was a further step towards the union of the Three Estates. On June 20th forty-seven nobles, led by the Duke of Orleans, joined the National Assembly; on June 26th the Archbishop of Paris, terrified by the Paris mob, the Bishops of Orange and Autun (Talleyrand), joined the Tiers État; most of the nobles and clergy, fearing that further opposition might endanger the King's life, at the King's request joined the Assembly.

June 27th, 1789. Union of the Three Estates.

II. Paris.

The "spontaneous anarchy" into which France had now fallen owing to the collapse of the executive and the hopeless disorder of the finances was most marked in Paris.

A. Causes of discontent.

(1) Famine and the Palais Royal.

The poor harvest of 1788 and the severe winter of 1788-1789 had caused a scarcity of bread; the people of Paris were hungry, and thousands of starving folk from the provinces had flocked to the city. The disaffected Duke of Orleans, a great-grandson of the Regent and the bitter enemy of the Queen, who hoped to secure the throne, made the Palais Royal, which no police officer dared enter, the centre of the excitement. These stirred up to violence the desperate mob who on April 27th, 1789 attacked the house of Bérillon, a manufacturer, who had said that a workman could live on fifteen sous a day.

(2) Political arrest.

The keen interest in the work of the States-General and rapidly growing discontent with political

* Palais.

conditions were aggravated by the violent pamphlets which now appeared, although the famous revolutionary newspapers were not issued until a little later. The poorer classes had expected the States-General to raise wages and lower the price of bread and were greatly disappointed that their expectations were not realised.

(3) The Army.

The King, with reluctance, had agreed to use force if necessary, and 40,000 soldiers, including many Germans and Swiss, under Bugele, were stationed near Paris to overawe the capital. But the *Garde Française* had revolutionary sympathies, and the army strongly resented the Prussian discipline, especially corporal punishment, which had been introduced by Comte de St. Germain, a recent Minister of War. The presence of the troops increased the animosity of the Parisians.

(4) Attempt at Municipal Government.

The Municipal Government, formerly nominated by the Crown, had ceased to function.

June 27th, 1789. The Electors of the Third Estate of Paris constituted themselves a government, met in the Hôtel de Ville, and on July 11th, 1789, formed a Civic Guard to maintain order in Paris.

B. The fall of the Bastille, July 14th, 1789.

(1) Immediate causes.

July 11th, 1789. The King, influenced by the Queen, the Comte d'Artois and the extreme Court party, dismissed Necker, whom the people regarded as their champion.

July 12th. Rumour by Camille Desmoulins, the mob, who feared that the dismissal of Necker would be followed by a royal coup d'état, seized arms at the Hôtel de Ville, where the Electors refused to sanction their rising.

(2) The Bastille taken.

July 14th. The mob took arms from the Hôtel des Invalides; stormed the Bastille; released the seven prisoners, none of whom were political; murdered De Launay, the Governor, after he had submitted on promise of safety. "That is a revolt," said Louis XVI on hearing the news. "Sire," answered Miancourt, "it is not a revolt, it is a revolution."

July 15th. Bailly was appointed Mayor of Paris, and Lafayette Commander of the Civic Guard, who took the name of the National Guard and adopted as their badge the Tricolor, a combination of the blue and red of Paris and the Bourbon white. The King recalled Necker.

July 15th. Flight of Artois, Condé and Braglon—the first of the émigrés.

(3) Louis XVI comes to Paris.

July 17th. Louis XVI went to Paris. Bailly gave him the keys of the city as a predecessor had given them to Henry IV, and said, "Henry IV conquered his people; to-day the people have conquered their King." Louis assumed the Tricolor, confirmed Bailly and Lafayette in office.

(4) The importance of the fall of the Bastille.

The fall of the Bastille saved the sovereignty of the people which was endangered by the military force Louis had collected, with the advice of the Queen; the destruction of the Bastille meant the abolition of the old system of absolute government. Further riots followed, and Foulon, a new minister, who was reported to have said that if the people were hungry they could eat grass, and his son-in-law Berthier was hanged from lamp-posts on July 21st. The riots were stopped by the National Guard.

In the previous new municipalities were established, National Guards enrolled, unpopular officials

murdered. In many places, particularly in Brittany, Alsace and Franche-Comté, châteaux and convents were destroyed. The sudden abolition of royal offices paralyzed the administrative, judicial and financial systems.

C. The march to Versailles, October 5th, 1789.

(1) Causes of discontent from July to October, 1789.

Necker had returned to office, but lost influence, partly because he failed to relieve the financial situation, partly because he persuaded the Electors¹ to grant an amnesty to the opponents of the revolution. The Queen and Louis' sister Madame Elizabeth were again urging the King to dissolve the Assembly and suppress the Revolution by force. He was also urged to transfer the Assembly to Tours, where it would be free from domination by the Paris mob. Famine continued in Paris, and many lacked bread which, although reduced in price by the Assembly, was scarce. The King concentrated troops at Versailles for his own protection, and Lousstolot, in the *Bénédictins* de Paris, and Marat, in the *Journal de Peuple*, which had great influence in Paris, asserted that he would attack Paris.

(2) The banquet at Versailles.

October 1st, 1789. The Queen and Dauphin, attended a banquet at Versailles given to the officers of the regiment of Flanders. Loyal toasts were drunk, anti-Republican sentiments expressed, and the Paris papers asserted, apparently incorrectly, that the Tricolor had been trampled underfoot. The belief that all this portended an attack on Paris led to an outbreak.

(3) The march of the women of Paris to Versailles, October 5th, 1789.

A crowd of women, demanding bread and shouting "À Versailles," went to Versailles, followed later by some of the National Guard under Lafayette, sent

by the municipality to check disorder. The women entered the Assembly with cries of "Bread and fewer apaches!" The mob entered the palace, two of the Queen's guards were slain; but Lafayette's troops stopped further violence.

(4) The return of the King to Paris.

October 6th, 1793. Lafayette insisted that the King, Queen and Royal Family should return to Paris. They went escorted by a rough crowd which carried as pikes the heads of the slain guards and asserted that they were bringing back "the baker, the baker's wife and the baker's little boy." The instigator of this movement was Orléans, who complained that "the money has not been earned since the dupletes will live." The National Assembly soon followed and headquarters took in the wings¹ of the Tuileries.

(5) General.

Paris had conquered both King and Assembly; the former lived at the Tuileries practically a prisoner. The power of the people had been manifested, and the people of Paris "henceforth became, to a new and alarming extent, the arbiters of the fortunes of France." The revolutionary cause was strengthened in France; the example of Paris contributed to the Belgian Revolution of 1793.² The Right³ in the Assembly was weakened, and Mirabeau, fearing that the Revolution would end in anarchy, now approached the King and Queen with a view to the establishment of Constitutional Monarchy.

From this time the clubs, and especially the Jacobins,⁴ or Friends of the Constitution, began to acquire their great influence in Paris. Largely owing to the attacks of the Jacobins the ministry was dissolved in September, 1793, and Necke, who had lost all influence, withdrew to Switzerland.

¹ i.e. the riding school.

² Page 372.

³ Page 328.

⁴ So called because they met in a building belonging to the Dominicans, who were called Jacobins because they first met in the church of St. Jacques.

D. The Federative Fête, July 14th, 1790.

The anniversary of the fall of the Bastille was celebrated by the Federative Fête held on the Champ de Mars. There was said by Talleyrand in the presence of the King, Queen, and President of the Assembly, and the King swore "to employ all the power delegated to me by the constitutional law of the State to uphold the Constitution."

E. The Flight to Varennes, June 20th, 1791.

(1) General conditions.

The death of Mirebeau on April 2nd, 1791, deprived the King of his wisest adviser. Louis XVI strongly resented his confinement to the Tuileries; Marie Antoinette refused to desert her husband, as the left of the Assembly advised, and her great unpopularity added to his difficulties; he was a devoted Roman Catholic and caused resentment by employing non-juring priests in the royal chapel.

Meanwhile the fear of foreign interference in response to the appeals of the despots was growing; Leopold II strongly resented the harsh treatment of his sister, and after a conference between Leopold and the representative of Austria at Mantua in May, 1791, it seemed likely that France would be invaded on all sides. The people were determined to keep the King in Paris, and when on April 19th, 1791, he tried to go to St. Cloud for a day's hunting the mob cut the traces of his carriage and compelled him to return to the Tuileries.

(2) The Flight.

June 20th, 1791. The King and Queen in disguise left Paris hoping to get to Bouill's army at Montmédy. They were recognised by Drouot at St. Mandéville and brought back to Paris.

(3) Results of the Flight.

- a. The Flight showed that the King did not really favour the reorganisation of the French

Government. But the Left, led by Lafayette, Barnave and Lameth, saw that by backing the executive they had made the King's position indefensible; they now aimed at establishing constitutional monarchy and founded the Constitutional Club. On June 20th they suspended the King, but only until he accepted the Constitution, which he did on September 14th. But this policy necessitated the continued presence of the King in Paris, and the Tuilleries was more closely guarded.

- b. The Flight led to the first appearance of a Republican Party in Paris. The Cordeliers Club, believing that the King aimed at regaining his absolute power by foreign aid, drew up a petition for his dethronement. A disorderly crowd which met to sign the petition was dispersed by Lafayette on July 17th, 1791, after refusing to disperse in accordance with a proclamation by Bailly;—the Massacre of the Champ de Mars; proscription of the Cordeliers; flight of Danton and Marat to England.
- c. The unsuccessful flight to Varennes showed that Louis XVI was really a prisoner and led Leopold II to issue the Circular of Fédérat¹ and to hold with Frederick William II a conference at Pillnitz.² But when Louis accepted the Constitution, Leopold gave up any attempt to intervene.

III. The Work of the National Assembly, June 17th, 1789–September 20th, 1791.

Their victory over the King at the Royal Session of June 20th, 1789,³ had left the Assembly free to undertake "the regeneration of France." The task of framing a new Constitution was rendered difficult not only by

¹ Page 284.

² Page 285.

³ Page 210.

financial chaos and the breakdown of the Executive, but by weakness in the Assembly. The members were inexperienced, but so presumptuous that "every member of the Assembly thought himself capable of everything"; they refused to submit to the discipline of the chair and the Assembly "resembled a disorderly public meeting"; the disorder was aggravated by the presence of spectators who often interrupted the proceedings; jealousy between committees and between ministers caused great friction. After October 4th, 1789, the Assembly was dominated by the people of Paris, who sometimes attacked members of whose views they disapproved. "Throughout the French Revolution the party which claimed to be most democratic tried to silence discussion by fear, and showed the utmost contempt for freedom of conscience."¹

A. The Parties.

Four roughly defined parties soon appeared.

(1) The Right.

The Right were reactionary Legitimists who were anxious to restore the old institutions and privileges and, although willing to allow the States-General to legislate and levy taxes, refused to accept parliamentary sanction for the royal prerogative. Their leaders were Cazabon and the Abbé Maury. The Right was a small party.

(2) The Right Centre.

The Right Centre advocated a constitutional monarchy somewhat similar to that of England. Mounier, Lally-Tollendal and Clermont-Tonnere led the party, which carried little weight, partly owing to its smallness, partly because its policy was not in accordance with the *Constitution Sociale*, which allowed of no limitation on popular government.

¹ *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. VIII, page 190.

(3) The Left Centre.

The Left Centre, or *Faillottes*, the largest party, numbering about seven hundred, included most of the *Tiers État* and parish priests, accepted the *Constitution* entirely, desired equality and self-government for all, wished to preserve the monarchy but to limit its powers. They believed "that the establishment of a free constitution, followed by remedial legislation, would bring the Revolution to an end within the course of a few months, and render the country law-abiding, prosperous and contented."¹ They included Lafayette, Siyès, Lameth, Barnave and Mirabeau. Mirabeau, who now² was forty years old, was notorious for the dissoluteness of his early life; although a noble, he represented the city of Aix to the *Tiers État*; he was a great orator, and the only real statesman in the Assembly, to which he alone comprehended the real meaning of the Revolution. Although he had helped the *Tiers État* to win their great victory on June 20th, 1788, he soon saw that the maintenance of executive power was necessary and did his best to establish constitutional monarchy. His efforts were impaired by the jealousy of Lafayette and Barnave, the opposition of Necker, the bitter hostility of the Queen and his own failure to secure a following—he was his own party. But Mirabeau alone could have averted the later Revolution, if anybody could, and his death on April 2nd, 1791, was a national calamity.

(4) The Extreme Left.

The Extreme Left held republican views; they advocated manhood suffrage and asserted that all citizens should be eligible for all offices. They did not at first think of overthrowing the monarchy, and it was not until after the flight to Varennes that they became powerful. This party included Robespierre, the deputy for Arras, who had resigned a judgeship rather than condemn a man to death, Pétion and Barras.

¹ *French Revolution* (Gardiner), page 88.² *I.e.* 1788.

B. The abolition of privileges.

August 4th, 1789. On the initiative of the Vicomte de Noailles and the Duc d'Anguillon the Assembly overthrew most of the old privileges of individuals, classes and corporations by a series of decrees based on the principles of legal equality for all citizens, freedom of labour and individual liberty. It abolished in one night serfdom and servile dues, seigniorial jurisdiction, game laws and seigniorial rights of hunting, the gabelle, tithes and all special privileges belonging to towns and guilds; it provided that every citizen should be "admissible to all offices and dignities, ecclesiastical, civil and military"; it imposed equality of punishment on all criminals.

These decrees, "the St. Bartholomew of property," overthrew, as Mirabeau said, "in a night the whole of the ancient order of the kingdom"; the Assembly, on the motion of Lally-Tollendal, declared that Louis XVI was "the restorer of French liberty." The decrees mark the final extinction of French feudalism and the change from medieval to modern France; they necessitated and facilitated the later establishment of constitutional government.

C. The Constitution.

A Committee was appointed on July 6th, 1789, to frame a new Constitution which became law on September 3rd, 1791; owing to this part of its work the National Assembly is also known as the Constituent Assembly.

The general aims of the Assembly were set forth on August 26th, 1789, in the Declaration of the Rights of Man, which asserted the legal equality of all citizens, the natural right of man to liberty, property and security, the natural right of the citizen to resist tyranny, and the sovereignty of the people.

(1) The Monarchy.

September, 1789. The form of government was to

be a monarchy which was to remain indivisible, and hereditary by male succession in the Bourbon family.

The King was declared King of the French by the grace of God and the will of the nation, and his person was to be held inviolable; his private estates were taken as national property, and he received in their stead a civil list pension of 16,000,000 francs. The Assembly was determined to re-establish the monarchy and Louis XVI enjoyed much personal popularity.

But the recollection of the abuses of the old regime and fear that the Queen and Court party would support reaction and secure foreign intervention made the Assembly limit the King's authority.

a. The Senate.

The proposal that the King should nominate a second chamber or Senate was rejected on September 10th, 1789, partly because the idea of an Upper House was contrary to democratic sentiment.

3. The Veto.

The proposal, supported by Mirabeau, that the King should exercise an absolute veto on legislation was rejected. He was granted on September 11th, 1789, only a suspensive veto operative for two legislatures (i.e. for five years).

c. The King and the Executive.

The King was head of the Executive; as such he was the head of the administration and the chief of the army and navy, in both of which he appointed the higher officers. But he had no power over the elections to the Legislature; he could not control its duration; his ministers could not be deposed; he had no power of initiating legislation; he had no judicial authority and no control over the judges. The direction of the Legislature was

necessity for declaring war. But Mirabeau in May, 1790, induced the Assembly to give to the King the power of initiating proposals for peace and war.

d. *The King's Ministers.*

Mirabeau on November 6th, 1790, urged that in order to facilitate business the King's ministers should have seats in the Assembly. But he was opposed both by the Right, who feared that such an arrangement would weaken the monarchy by strengthening the influence of the Assembly over the Executive, and by the Left, who feared that the chance of securing office might induce the most prominent deputies unable to favour the King, and it was decided that a deputy could not become a minister while a member of the Assembly or for two years after.

The attempt to reproduce in France prominent features of the English Constitution had failed.

(3) *The Legislature.*

The Legislature was to be a single chamber with 745 members. It was to sit for two years, when it automatically ceased; the King had no control over the elections and no power to prorogue or dissolve the Legislature.

a. *Powers.*

The Legislature had full power of legislation, limited by the King's suspensive veto, which did not apply to financial measures. His consent was essential for the declaration of war and for treaties of peace, commerce or alliance. It had no judicial authority.

b. *Method of election.*

The Legislature was elected indirectly. "Active Citizens," i.e. men of at least twenty-

five years of age, who paid in direct taxes the value of three days' labour and were enrolled in their municipal registers and the National Guard, formed the Primary Assembly of towns and cantons, and these chose one elector for every hundred Active Citizens. Ownership or tenancy of property was a necessary qualification of an elector, who had to pay taxes of the value of at least 1800 hundred days' labour. No one holding a judicial or administrative post could become a member of the Assembly.

D. Local administration.

Uniformity, decentralisation and the sovereignty of the people acting through elected representatives were the principles which underlay the new arrangements for local administration.

(1) New divisions.

December 22nd, 1789. France was divided into 83 departments subdivided into 374 cantons; the cantons were divided into about 64,000 communes. Local administration in each division consisted of a small Directory, which was executive, and a larger Council. Active Citizens alone had the right of electing members of the administration.

(2) *Cantonism*.

The old provincial *districts*, suggestive of feudal division, were abolished and France became unified.

The King's local representatives were abolished and their authority was replaced by that of elected officials. The direct royal authority which had so long administered the country was swept away.

The real power fell into the hands of the communes, which controlled the assessment and collection of taxes, exercised sole authority over the troops,

National Guards or *gendarmerie*. The 44,000 soldiers "seemed likely to develop into so many independent republicans."¹

(2) Paris.

Paris, previously divided into twenty-two quarters, had been divided into sixty districts, or *arrondissements*, in April, 1793, which sent deputies to the *States-General*. Owing to disturbances in the districts the city was divided into forty-eight Sections in 1793. These were intended to elect deputies to the municipality and then to dissolve. But permanent committees of sixteen entered the constitutions of the Sections, which were soon to prove centres of extreme revolutionary doctrines.

The new municipality, "of which Bailly was re-elected mayor, consisted of a general council of 56 and an executive of 44 members."²

E. Judicial and legal reforms.

(1) The Parliaments.

November, 1789. The Parliament of Paris, which had become unpopular owing to its support of the demand of the nobles and clergy to vote by orders not by heads, and local Parliaments were suppressed.

(2) New local courts.

In counties and *towns* *juges de paix* tried petty cases.

In districts five judges, appointed for six years, tried civil cases.

In departments a court of four judges tried crimes. A final appeal lay to the Court of Cassation sitting in Paris and independent of the Legislature.

All judges were elected by Active Citizens, the Court of Cassation by departments; the King and Legislature had no share in the administration of

¹ Lodge.

² Guizot.

justice; the judges, who owed their position to election, were liable to be unduly influenced by popular opinion.

(3) Procedure.

The jury system was introduced for criminal but not for civil cases and a grand jury appointed for each department. Counsel for defence were granted to accused persons.

(4) Punishment.

The severity of the penal code was mitigated. The penalty of death was to be inflicted only in a few cases; torture and letters de cachet were abolished; witchcraft and highway were no longer regarded as crimes.

The reform of the judicial system was based on the principles of the sovereignty of the people, the separation of the judicial executive from the Legislature and monarchy, the equality of all citizens before the law.

F. The Church.

(1) Toleration.

April 12th, 1790. The Assembly had declared that all citizens, whatever their religious views, were eligible for employment by the State. It now passed a decree "giving absolute and entire toleration of every form of religion."¹

(2) Tithes.

August 4th, 1790. Abolition of tithes, worth 120,000,000 francs a year. The income was presented to the landowners and not used to meet the financial needs of the State.

(3) Confiscation of Church property.

The confiscation of Church property, which was worth about £100,000,000, was based on the assumption that it belonged to the nation and that the clergy

¹ *Mons Sieyès*, page 72.

were not monks, but only trustees and administrators. In spite of the protests of Abbé Henry, this view found ready acceptance in the Assembly, which consisted largely of lawyers and included among its members many sceptics and some Jansenists¹ and Huguenots.

The finances were in a chaotic state; by August, 1789, the State debt amounted to about \$45,750,000; the weakness of the administration led to the loss of most of the revenue; no loans could be raised; a voluntary loan, to which the King contributed the royal plate, failed. Talleyrand on October 10th, 1789, proposed that Church lands should be confiscated and sold to pay the State debts.

November 15th, 1789. Church property confiscated by the State, which made provision for the clergy, appointing a minimum salary of 1200 livres a year for parish priests.

December 19th, 1789. The Assembly ordered the sale of Church lands to the value of 400,000,000 francs, but only a small amount was sold to private purchasers. Much was sold to municipalities. To secure immediate financial relief the Assembly passed "assignats or promises to pay, based on the value of Church property, retained or confiscated by the Assembly, and to be extinguished as this property was sold."²

(4) *Dissolution of monastic houses, February, 1790.*

February, 1790. The Assembly annulled religious vows, suppressed all religious houses and confiscated their property; monks and nuns received pensions. The dissolution of the religious houses provoked but little opposition, for scepticism was rife and the religious orders were unpopular.

(5) *The Civil Constitution of the Clergy, July, 1790.*

July 12th, 1790. By the Civil Constitution of the Clergy the Assembly suppressed all cathedral chapters

¹ *Notes on European History*, Vol. II, page 552. ² *House Stephens*.

and the title of archbishop; made departments into bishoprics; provided that bishops should be elected by electors of departments, and parish priests by electors of districts; assigned salaries of from 20,000 to 12,000 livres to bishops, 4000 to 1500 to parish priests, 2400 to 700 to curates; the confirmation of the Pope for the new arrangement was not sought, and the right of any foreign bishop to interfere with the French Church was denied.

The Civil Constitution of the Clergy, which its supporters maintained affected only discipline and not belief, represents the application to the Church of the idea of the sovereignty of the people. But faithful Catholics strongly resented State interference with the Church and objected to the election of the clergy by laymen and the denial of Papal jurisdiction. Louis XVI agreed to the Civil Constitution on August 27th, 1790, only with great reluctance and in spite of the warning of Pope Pius VI that such agreement would be schismatic.

(c) **The Oath of Fidelity to the Constitution, November, 1790.**

a. **The Oath.**

November 27th, 1790. The Assembly, led by Mirabeau and irritated by the opposition shown to the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, required all clergy to take an Oath of Fidelity to the new Constitution.

December 24th, 1790. The King was compelled to sign the decree.

January 4th, 1791. Out of 135 prelates only Talleyrand, Bishop of Autun, Louis de Brienne, Archbishop of Sens, and the Bishops of Orleans and Viviers took the oath; about 30,000 parish priests refused to take it and were deprived of office. The letter of Pope Pius VI forbidding the oath was burned at the Palais Royal.

B. Results.

The oath severed the alliance between the parish priests and the majority of the Assembly. France was divided between the adherents of the sworn priests and those of the non-jurors; the hostility of the King to the Revolution was strengthened and he became more willing to seek foreign aid; the King was estranged from Mirabeau.

C. Foreign policy of the National Assembly.

The foreign policy of the Assembly was based on the idea of the sovereignty of the people; this involved the idea of national independence and was directly opposed to the attempt of the sovereigns of Europe to secure territorial gains independent of the nationality of the people concerned.

Robespierre, Pétion and Barnave asserted that all existing treaties between France and other countries were null and void because they had not been made by the sovereign people, and the Declaration of the Rights of Man tacitly challenged the Governments which did not recognise such rights.

May, 1790. Mirabeau, who now saw that the interests of France required that the King's executive power should be strengthened, secured for the King the sole right of initiating proposals for war and peace; a committee of six was appointed to revise all treaties, and the Assembly renounced all wars of conquest.

Three questions called for immediate attention.

(1) *Noctua Sound, October, 1790.*

The seizure of a British ship in Noctua Sound by Spain led to a threat of war from Pitt. Spain appealed to France for aid in accordance with the Family Compact of 1763. But some deputies feared that war would strengthen the monarchy; others objected to treaties made by the monarchy; Robespierre and

Pétion objected to any offensive war. The Assembly therefore replaced the dynastic Family Compact by a national treaty for mutual defense. Spain, seeing that France would not assist her in a war of aggression, renounced all claims to Yancorover Island. Thus France lost the old friendship with Spain.

(5) Avignon.

Avignon had been sold to the Papacy by Jeanne of Naples in 1368. The attempt of the French party to introduce revolutionary ideas led to civil war in June, 1790. On September 12th, 1791, the Assembly voted for the incorporation in France of Avignon and the Comtat. but feebly delayed to send troops to restore order.

[In October many of the supporters of the Pope were massacred by bands led by Jourdan.

November 24, 1791. French troops restored order.]

(6) The Rhine.

a. Feudal rights.

France had received Alsace by the Peace of Westphalia, but had guaranteed to the landlords their feudal privileges.

February, 1790. The landlords, including the Archbishops of Cologne, Mainz and Trier, the Duke of Württemberg and Zweibrücken, and the Margraves of Hesse-Darmstadt and Baden protested against the abolition of these feudal privileges on August 4th, 1790,¹ refused an inadequate compensation which the Assembly offered and, as Princes of the Empire, appealed for protection to the Imperial Diet.

b. The disjuncts.

The Assembly strongly resisted the shelter given by the Electors of Cologne, Trier and

¹ Page 341.

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Mainle to the royalist émigrés who formed a sort of Court at Coblenz, where the Comte d'Artois, brother of Louis XVI, did his utmost to persuade the sovereigns of Europe to invade France.

H. General.

The National Assembly had asserted the principles of the sovereignty of the people (although extreme democrats disapproved of the exclusion of Passive Citizens from political power) and the equality of all before the law, and had swept away the abuses under which France had so long laboured. But reform came so rapidly that it broke all the ties which had united the nation without supplying new bonds of union; the new methods of local government failed to function, and their failure led to administrative chaos.

The National Assembly failed to establish a stable constitution. Its gravest error was its failure to establish a strong Executive owing to its fear that if the King were given effective power he would use it to re-establish the old regime. The lack of a strong Executive was the main reason for the successful effort of the Paris Commune and the Jacobins to abolish the monarchy and establish a republic. "In its fear of reaction [the National Assembly] caused a new revolution."²

The new constitution which the National Assembly devised was destined to meet the opposition of parties which had arisen owing to recent decrees. The émigrés, aiming at restoring the old monarchy with foreign aid, the non-juring priests who received the sympathy and support of many faithful Catholics, were to cause grave difficulties in the near future.

September 30th, 1791. End of the National Assembly.

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THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY, OCTOBER 18th, 1791—SEPTEMBER 20th, 1792

Most men, and especially the middle class, thought that the Revolution was ended when the King accepted the Constitution on September 14th, 1791; they wanted to carry on business in peace and to enjoy the happier political conditions which were expected to result from the work of the National Assembly. They had no desire to dethrone Louis XVI or to assert the doctrine of the Revolution by force against a united Europe.

I. Parties.

Robespierre in May, 1791, had carried a motion in the National Assembly that none of its members should be eligible for election to the next Legislature. The 743 members of the Legislative Assembly were mostly young lawyers or journalists; the necessity of taking the civic oath, which implied acceptance of the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, excluded devout Catholics, and there were no members who supported absolute monarchy and class privileges. These were three parties.

A. The Right.

The Right, or *Foedérats*, favoured constitutional government; they had no strong leaders in the Assembly, but their policy was directed by Barnave and the *Léopolds* from the *Protestant Club*. They wished to

maintain the authority of the King as defined by the Constituent Assembly, and Louis XVI made a fatal mistake in not entering into a close alliance with them.

B. The Left.

The Left was Jacobin and wished to establish a republic. The Left was at first united, but soon split into two divisions.

(1) The Brissotins or Girondins.

The Brissotins, so called from Brissot, a Norman deputy, soon became known as the Girondins because their leading man—Vergniaud, the greatest orator of the time. General and Girard—came from the Gironde. Madame Roland, whose husband was a deputy, exercised great influence and was determined further to weaken the monarchy.

(2) The Jacobins.

The *Swagles*, or extreme Jacobins, included Couthon, Thuriot and Marlin of Thionville. Their numbers were small, but the strong support of the Jacobin Club, in which Robespierre, Danton and Marat were all-powerful, made them formidable. Their influence in Paris was strengthened by the election of Fillion as Mayor of Paris in succession to Bailly on November 19th, 1791.

C. The Centre.

The Centre, although the largest party, was ineffective because, unlike the Right and Left, it had no definite policy. Voting was individual and verbal, and the system of terrorism and violence adopted by the Jacobins led many of the Centre either to support them or to abstain from voting.

II. The Legislative Assembly and the King.

The Left were determined to discredit the monarchy and used the *deuys* and the *clergy* for this purpose.

A. Attempts to discredit the King.¹(1) The *émigrés*.

The *émigrés* were forming an army to invade France and had issued reactionary manifestoes which greatly irritated the Assembly. But they were divided by cliques; Leopold II disappointed of their attitude, and the charge from them was more apparent than real.

November 26th, 1791. The Assembly voted that all *émigrés* should return to France on pain of death.

November 12th, 1791. The King vetoed the decree.

(2) The Clergy.

November 26th, 1791. The Assembly, knowing the King's devotion to Roman Catholicism, passed a decree forbidding non-juring priests to officiate in public and depriving them of their pensions.

December 12th, 1791. The King vetoed this decree.

(3) War.²a. The *Federalists* and *Girondins* favour war.

Both the *Federalists* and the *Girondins* favoured war with Austria and the *émigrés*. The former, strongly supported by Lafayette, who was now commanding the Army of the Centre, desired war in the hope that success would strengthen the position of the King, who was head of the army; the latter, knowing that Louis had negotiated with foreign powers, hoped that a foreign invasion would enable them further to discredit the King by accusing him of assisting the enemies of France. Brissot's famous speech, "Let us tell Europe that if Cabinets engage Kings in a war against peoples, we will engage peoples in a war against Kings."

b. The *Europe* oppose war.

The extreme Jacobins opposed war because they thought it would strengthen the Executive. This difference led to the split between the *Europe* and the *Girondins*.

¹ For details, see page 332.

c. The decision.

A decree was passed requiring the King to demand that the *levée* army should be disbanded and that a French army should be sent to the frontiers. It was thought that this decree would avert the outbreak of war.

December 14th, 1791. Louis XVI informed the Assembly that an army of 150,000 men had been sent to the frontiers.

d. Narbonne.

Narbonne, the new Minister of War, supported military operations, hoping, like Lafayette, to strengthen the position of the King.

January 25th, 1792. The Assembly demanded that Leopold II should ensure the dispersal of the *levée* army and renounce his recent treaty with Prussia,¹ which was regarded as a threat to France.

An unsuccessful plan of Narbonne to enable the King and Queen to escape from Paris to Lafayette's camp led to ill-feeling between Narbonne and the *Français* and the fall of Narbonne on March 10th, 1792.

e. The Girondin Ministry.

[March 1st, 1792. Death of Leopold II.]

March, 1792. The King chose a Girondin Ministry; Duménil, the new Foreign Minister, strongly advocated war against Austria, but wisely tried to keep peace with Britain, Prussia and Germany.

April 20th, 1792. Louis XVI was compelled to declare war on "the King of Hungary and Bohemia," i.e. Austria.

¹ Page 181.

III. The Insurrection of June 16th, 1793.

A. Growing turbulence in Paris.

The continued depreciation of the assignats and the want of bread caused real hardship; the election of Pétion as Mayor of the Commune of Paris in November, 1791, and of Danton as Deputy Prosecutor in January, 1792, and the admission of the Paris mob to the meetings of the Commune strengthened the influence of the extreme Jacobins; thousands of pikes were distributed to the lower classes, and these pikemen became the rivals of the middle-class National Guard; popular feeling was inflamed by the adoption of the red cap of Liberty as the badge of the extremists. The influence of Babeuf, Ferrand and Marat over "the sansculots of Paris" grew stronger.

April 15th, 1792. The Revolutionary Fête, held to celebrate the unjustifiable liberation from the gallies of some Swiss soldiers who had been convicted of insubordination, marked the growing tendency to anarchy.

B. The Legislative Assembly.

(1) The Girondins and the King.

The Girondins pursued their policy of weakening the monarchy, which was discredited by the belief that the "Austrian Committee," or friends of the Queen, were gaining strong influence over the King, and the suspicion, which was correct, that the Queen had revealed the French plan of campaign to the Austrians. The Assembly declared itself in permanent session.

a. May, 1792. The Assembly disbanded the King's bodyguard of 10,000 men.

b. May, 1792. The Assembly ordered the banishment of non-juring priests.

c. June 4th, 1792. Servan, new Minister of War, proposed to form a camp of 20,000 men

outside Paris, nominally to defend the capital, really to strengthen the arms of the Revolution in the city.

(3) *The King and the Feuilletons.*

The King vetoed the last two decrees and dismissed his Girondin ministers on the advice of Dumouriez, who became Minister of War.

June 18th, 1792. Dumouriez, on the King's refusal to rescind his vetoes, resigned and took command of the Army of the North. The King now formed a ministry of Feuilletons who were not strong enough to maintain his cause.

C. *The insurrection of June 20th, 1792.*

(1) *Cause.*

The insurrection was the natural outcome of the growing turbulence of the mob. Among the immediate causes were the King's recent vetoes, Lafayette's letter of June 18th, 1792, in which he urged the Assembly to suppress the Jacobin clubs and support constitutional monarchy, and a demand for the restoration of the Girondins, "the good ministers."

(2) *The Tuilleries.*

June 20th, 1792. The mob, carrying pikes, invaded the Assembly and entered the Tuilleries. Louis and Marie Antoinette displayed remarkable courage in the face of terrorism and possible assassination; Louis put on the red cap, but denied that he had violated the Constitution and refused to rescind his vetoes.

(3) *Refusal of the King to accept Lafayette's aid.*

The insurrection led to a reaction in favour of the King. Lafayette proposed to help the King to escape to Compiègne and, if necessary, to march against the Jacobins. The folly of the Queen, who, hating Lafayette for his early opposition to the monarchy,

declared that if Lafayette was their only means they had better perish, led the King to refuse his last chance of safety.

IV. The Insurrection of August 10th, 1793.

The feeling in favour of the deposition of the King was aggravated by the fear of foreign invasion.

A. The Sections.

The forty-eight Sections of Paris were primary assemblies elected to choose deputies for the Assembly. After discharging their duty they had, quite illegally, continued to meet, and on July 25th, 1793, were authorized by the Assembly to remain in permanent session. The people gained predominance in the Sections which secured control of the artillery and, with one exception, on July 26th, 1793, demanded the deposition of the King. They appointed a Bureau de Correspondence which elected Commissioners who, on August 10th, met in the Hotel de Ville and usurped the position of the regular Committee of Paris.

B. The National Guard.

August 1st, 1793. Passive as well as Active Citizens were admitted to the National Guard, and thus the loyalty of the National Guard to the King was weakened.

C. The flight of Lafayette.

"Paris, the nation, the Assembly itself, were all at heart monarchical," and the Assembly, while ready to defend the country against foreign invasion, viewed with alarm the development of mob rule in Paris.

August 8th, 1793. The Assembly rejected Robespierre's demand that Lafayette should be impeached for supporting the monarchy in June. Lafayette made a half-hearted attempt to secure support for the monarchy in his own army and the provinces, but was unwilling,

in view of the situation of France by foreign enemies, to engage in civil war on behalf of the King and went into exile.

D. The country in danger.

(1) The King's position.

Frederick William II of Prussia, who on the death of Leopold II had become the leader of the allies, determined on armed intervention on behalf of the King. Louis XVI, at the Feast of the Federation on July 14th, 1792, had renewed his oath to the Constitution, but the declaration of war on his behalf by Prussia on July 24th put him in a very difficult position.

(2) The Marseillais.

The Assembly authorized the establishment of an armed camp at Soissons, called for provincial volunteers, *fédérés*, who were to pass through Paris on their way to Soissons: 40,000 *fédérés* enlisted in six weeks.

July 30th, 1792. Entry into Paris of the Marseillais *fédérés* led by Barbaroux and singing the Marseillaise, recently composed by Rouget de Lisle. They remained in Paris and supported the Republicans.

(3) Brunswick's Manifesto, July 27th, 1792.

Brunswick's most foolish manifesto roused the feeling of France. He said that the object of the Allies was to secure the restoration of Louis XVI and to put down anarchy in France; he threatened to treat with "the rigour of the laws of war" those who resisted his advance and to inflict "exemplary and never-to-be-forgotten vengeance" on Paris if further violence was offered to the King.

E. The insurrection of August 10th, 1792.

In the early morning of August 10th the mob attacked the Tuilleries, defended by Mandat, the Commander of the National Guard, with about 2000 men, including 800 Swiss. Mandat was summoned to the Hôtel de Ville,

condemned to imprisonment by the Sectional Commissioners, who voted the suspension of the regular Commune, and murdered on his way to prison.

At 4.30 a.m. Louis and the Queen fled from the Tuileries to the Assembly, where they were lodged for the night in a reporter's box. The Swiss continued to resist, laid down their arms on an order from the King but were massacred by the mob.

F. Results.

The insurrection of August 10th, 1793, showed that "not only the monarchy but the Assembly were now at the mercy of the mob."

August 10th. The Girondins carried motions in the Assembly that the King should be suspended, not deposed, and lodged in the Luxembourg; that a new Convention should be summoned to revise the Constitution; that the Girondin ministers should be restored to office with the addition of Danton as Minister of Justice; that the difference between Active and Passive Citizens should be abolished; that a National Convention should be elected immediately.

V. The September Massacres.

A. The Revolutionary Commune.

The Revolutionary Commune soon showed its power. The Assembly was compelled to recognise its authority in Paris; its numbers were increased from about 70 to 368; on August 13th it transferred Louis XVI from the custody of the Assembly at the Luxembourg to the Temple, where Pétion and Sanson took charge of him. It determined to establish a republic knowing that a restoration of the monarchy would be fatal to itself, and that most Frenchmen, and particularly the middle class, still favoured a monarchy. Robespierre, who now becomes one of the chief leaders of the republican party, Billaud-Varenne and Marat (although not an elected member) directed its efforts.

B. The Commune seized new powers.

- (1) August 11th, 1793. The vetoed Assembly authorised the Commune to arrest people suspected "of crimes against the State." Many opponents of the Commune were arrested and imprisoned.
- (2) August 17th, 1793. The Assembly authorised the establishment of a special tribunal "elected" by the Sections and possessing final powers to try the prisoners.

C. The September Massacres.

The fear caused by the fall of Longwy on August 23rd and the days of Vendém; the reluctance of the *gilets* to go to the front and expose Paris to the vengeance of any prisoners who escaped; the desire of the Commune to terrify voters and thus secure a majority in the Convention, led to the massacre of from 1800 to 2000 prisoners in Paris from September 2nd to September 7th. Only about two hundred murderers took part, but all Paris must share the blame. Neither Danton, the Minister of Justice, who is regarded by some as one of the instigators, nor the Commune, nor the Legislative Assembly, nor Bouchard, who now commanded the National Guard, made a real effort to stop the massacres, which "were the first result of the triumph of the Girondins and of the efforts of foreign powers to enter France."¹

References:

- Revolutionary Europe* (Morse Stephens), Birmingham, chap. III.
Cambridge Modern History, Vol. VIII, chap. ix.
The French Revolution (Gardiner), Longmans, chap. v.
Lectures on the French Revolution (Lord Acton), Macmillan.
 Lectures XIII, XIV.
History of the French Revolution (Mignet), G. Bell and Sons,
 chap. v.

¹ Lodge.

THE NATIONAL CONVENTION TO THE FALL OF THE GIRONDINS, SEPTEMBER 21ST, 1793-JUNE 2ND, 1793

The National Convention replaced the Legislative Assembly on September 1st, 1793.

I. The Parties.

A. The Right.

The horror caused in the provinces by the September massacres gave the Girondins a majority. They were now the conservative element; they wished to check disorder, to punish the authors of the recent massacres, to break the power of the Commune and establish a stable government. They included Vergniaud, Brissot, Guadet, Féraud and Barbaroux.

B. The Mountain.

The Jacobin extremists, or *Enragés*, were now called the Mountain, because they occupied the highest benches on the left. They included all the twenty-four deputies of Paris, whose return had been secured by Robespierre's action in intimidating the voters, and among them were Robespierre, Danton, who had done great service in organizing the national defense, Collot d'Herbois, Desmoulins, Marat and Philip of Orleans, who had changed his name to Philippe Égalité. They accepted all the consequences of extreme democracy and wished to establish a Republic in which they were supreme, for then alone they could ensure their own safety; they were assured of the support of the Commune and mob of Paris; they wished to deprive the Girondins of their supremacy in the Convention.

C. The Plain or Marsh.

The Plain or Marsh occupied the lower benches. They hated Marat and resented the tyranny of the Commune,

and thus inclined towards the Girondins; but they feared to arouse the fury of the Mountain, and therefore wavered between the Right and the Mountain. Bayle, a most dexterous and astute political politician, Siyès, Merlin of Douai were the leading members of the Plain.

II. The Establishment of the Republic.

September 22nd, 1792. Formal proclamation of a Republic, which had really existed since August 10th, 1792.

November 19th, 1792. The Convention offered to help any people against their Kings.

December 15th. The Convention ordered its generals to abolish existing authorities, proclaim the sovereignty of the people and seize for the French Republic all property belonging to sovereign or privileged corporations in any country they invaded.

All parties supported these measures which made France "the nursery of the cult of freedom" and the declared enemy of established government in Europe.

III. The Execution of the King, January 21st, 1793.

The Mountain, knowing that the Girondins were unwilling to take strong measures against the King, sought to discredit them by demanding the trial of the King with a view to his execution. His person had already been declared inviolate,¹ and the only penalty for bearing arms against France, the sole crime of which he could be proved guilty, was deposition—and he was already deposed. St. Just and Robespierre justified their obviously illegal action as the ground of necessity of State. "The King," said Robespierre, "must die that the State may live"; they asserted that the King's guilt had already been proved by his deposition and demanded that the Convention should vote his immediate execution. Vergniaud, for the Girondins, urged

¹ Page 161.

that the question should be decided by a referendum of the sovereign people; but Bakewell, although a disciple of Rousseau, strongly objected. Bakewell induced the Plain to support the Mountain, and the turbulent occupants of the galleries threatened to murder any deputies who tried to save the King.

A. Charges.

The King was charged with supporting the *émigrés*, trying to suppress the Constitution, neglecting the army and thus causing the fall of Longwy and Verdun, buying up corn.

[January 6th. Arrival of Dumourier in Paris to save the King.]

B. The voting.

January 18th, 1793. Three questions were put to the Convention—

1. Is Louis Capet guilty?
2. Should an appeal to the people be allowed?
3. What punishment should be inflicted?

(1) The King's guilt.

Not one deputy voted for the King's innocence; "the scene of courage was abstinence, and only five deputies reached this pitch of valour." The vote was illegal; every charge ought to have been voted upon separately, but all the charges were taken together.

(2) The Referendum.

Largely owing to discussion among the Girondins the vote went against the Referendum.

(3) Punishment.

Two attempts of the Spanish ambassador to intervene failed; Danton carried a motion that the decision should be made by a bare majority and not by a majority of two-thirds, as was necessary in criminal cases. Vergniaud's vote for execution

probably decided the issue: Philippe Égalité voted against his cousin. Of 721 members present 361, an absolute majority of one, voted for death without condition. An attempt to procure a respite was rejected by 363 votes to 340.

January 21st, 1793. Louis XVI was guillotined at 10.30 a.m. on the Place de la Revolution.¹

Louis XVI, says Mignet, "was the best but the feeblest of Kings. His assertions bequeathed to him a revolution. . . . He is perhaps the only prince who had no passions, not even that of power, and who united the two essential qualities of a good King—fear of God and love of the people. He perished the victim of passions which he did not share."

IV. The Committee.

The danger from the Allies, internal disaffection, which in some cases became active rebellion, and the weakness of the Girondins led to new arrangements which were skillfully used by the Mountains to strengthen its position.

A. The Committee of General Defence.

January 24th, 1793. Appointment by the Convention of the Committee of General Defence. It was really a reorganisation of a former committee. Its appointment was an acknowledgment of the need of stronger executive action, but it effected little.

B. The Revolutionary Tribunal.

February 1st, 1793. France declared war on Britain and Holland; Dumouriez's invasion of Holland proved a failure; new issues, due to the expenses of the war, further depressed the value of assignats; on February 23rd, 1793, the ballot for the army was extended to the whole of France; dissatisfaction with the Girondins grew, and the Jacobin Club tried to stir up the Paris mob against them; a tumult took place, but a shower of rain dispersed the victors.

¹ Now known as the Place de la Concorde.

March 29th, 1793. Danton, in spite of the opposition of the Girondins, secured the establishment of a Revolutionary Tribunal to act as an extraordinary criminal court and to judge without appeal.

C. The First Committee of Public Safety, April 6th, 1793.

(1) The Insurrection in La Vendée.

March 14th, 1793. Beginning of the insurrection in La Vendée, due partly to indignation at the alleged persecution of priests and *émigrés*, partly to the decree of February 13th. The leaders were Cathelineau, a baker, Stofflet, a gamekeeper, Henri de la Roche-Jaquelin and De Lamoignon, who were nobles. An insurrectionary army of about 40,000 men was raised; the help of Britain and Spain was sought.

(2) Darnaud.

March 18th, 1793. Defeat of Darnaud at Neerwinden. He now opposed the Government, declared to Commissioners from Paris that the Convention consisted of "300 second-class and 600 imbeciles," opened negotiations with the Austrians and threatened to march on Paris. His army refused to support him and he fled to the Austrians on April 5th, 1793, having seriously disorganized the Army of the North.

(3) The Committee.

April 6th, 1793. Establishment, on Danton's motion, of The First Committee of Public Safety to raise soldiers to meet pressing danger. It consisted of nine members, some of whom were Girondins; Danton was the leading member. The Committee had no power over finances and was to be re-elected each month.

This Committee was really a dictatorship of nine; it gave Revolutionary France a real executive for the first time; the Committee and the Revolutionary Tribunal were soon to prove the foundations of the Terror.

D. The Committee of Twelve.

The power of the Commune grew. It compelled the Convention on May 3rd, 1793, to extend to the whole of France a maximum price of corn which had been established in Paris in September, 1792; on May 13th, 1793, it established a "sansculotte" army to guard Paris and forced the Convention to pay each Sansculotte forty sous a day; a new Committee of Insurrection was established which urged the stipulants of the Girondins from the Convention.

The Girondins proposed to suppress the popular authorities in Paris and to transfer part at least of the Convention to Bourges. But, on Barthe's suggestion, they appointed on May 13th, 1793, a Committee of Twelve, all Girondins, to investigate the recent acts of the Sections and Commune. The Twelve arrested Hébert, a mob compelled the Convention to release him; the Commune compelled the Convention to suppress The Twelve on May 17th; the Girondins picked up enough courage to re-establish it on May 18th.

V. The Fall of the Girondins, June 2nd, 1793.

The struggle between the Girondins and the Mountains was the great problem with which the Convention in its earlier stages had to deal. The Girondins accused the Mountains of having instigated the September massacre, of subservience to the Commune and of encouraging anarchy. The Mountains accused the Girondins of sympathy with the monarchy because many had opposed the execution of the King, and of a desire to weaken the unity of France by establishing federal government in the provinces; as against Federalism they asserted the importance of "The Republic, one and indivisible."

A. The weakness of the Girondins.

Although they had a majority in the Convention and considerable support in the provinces; in spite of the brilliant ability of individual members and the number

of real action the party possessed, the Girondins were weak. They professed to be actuated by high principle, but selfishness and ambition were their real motives. They lacked statesmanship and political capacity; they "sacrificed vigour of action to violence of invective."

(3) Lack of popular support.

" They were not popular in the provinces and had no power in Paris, where they could command no force strong enough to overawe the Committee, the Sections and the mob.

a. Departmental Guard.

October 15th, 1793. Owing to the opposition of the Sections they refused to form a Departmental Guard of 4470 provincials who might have enabled them to maintain their position in Paris.

b. *Fédérés*.

They failed to secure the active support of the well-disposed *fédérés* from Marseilles who came to Paris in October, 1793.

(5) Lack of steady, common policy.

They utterly failed to carry out their policy of putting down anarchy, punishing the September murderers and establishing firm government. Lack of cohesion and party discipline prevented them from taking advantage of their majority, and sound decisions proved useless through lack of energy to put them into execution. They failed to inspire confidence and therefore to gain adequate support.

a. They did not desire the King's death, but they failed to use their majority to prevent it.

b. They showed conspicuous lack of statesmanship in refusing, owing to his share in the September massacres, to co-operate with Danton, who had seen the urgent need for firm and conciliatory government and was willing to co-operate with the Girondins to establish it.

- c. They ought to have crushed the *Copains*, but they failed to establish the charges they made against Robespierre on October 29th, 1793; they arrested but were compelled to release Billaud in May, 1793; they failed to establish a Departmental Guard or to win over the National Guard to act against the *Copains*; their appointment of the Committee of Twelve on May 18th, 1793, was an inadequate substitute for the vigorous action which was essential for success.
- d. They passed, under pressure from the Commune, laws suppressing speculation and interfering with the free trade, although they regarded them as violations of individual liberty.

B. The strength of the Mountain.

The Mountain had been strengthened by the efforts of the *Deputés en Mission* sent to levy forces, who founded Jacobin Clubs everywhere and by April, 1793, had established the supremacy of the Mountain over all France except Lyons, La Vendée, Marseilles, Bordeaux and Rouen. The Commune, the army of Sansculottes, the support of nearly all the Sections and their command of the mob made the Mountain supreme in Paris.

C. The fall of the Girondins.

May 31st, 1793. The *Tuleries*, whither the Convention had removed from the *sansage*,¹ was surrounded by a mob whose violence compelled the Convention to abolish the Committee of Twelve, although it refused to prosecute its own members.

June 2nd, 1793. An armed force under Hanriot, now Commander of the National Guard, surrounded the *Tuleries* and pointed cannon at the members, who, under this compulsion, voted the suspension of ten of

¹ Page 124.

the Committee of Twelve, twenty deputies, including Vergniaud, Guadet, Guadet, Brissot, Pétion and Barbaroux, and two ministers.

References:

- Revolutionary Europe* (Morris Stephens), Livingston, chap. 17.
Cambridge Modern History, Vol. VIII, chap. 15.
The French Revolution (Gardiner), chap. vi.
Lectures on the French Revolution (Lord Acton), lectures 27-29.
History of the French Revolution (Hugot), G. Bell and Sons, chaps. vi, vii.

FROM THE FALL OF THE GIRONDINS, JUNE 2ND, 1793, TO THE EXECUTION OF ROBESPIERRE, JULY 28TH, 1794 THE TERROR

I. The Mountain, June 2nd-July 10th, 1793.

A. Tendency to conciliation.

The Mountain now gained the leadership of the Convention and under the guidance of Danton adopted a conciliatory policy and tried, unsuccessfully, to check the violence of Hébert. The suspended Girondins were allowed some measure of liberty; in June, 1793, the Mountain drew up a new Constitution, but the condition of France led them to postpone its establishment and to strengthen the Committee of Public Safety in which Danton was the leader; they tried to re-establish discipline in the army and appointed Custine to command in the North, Bouchard to the Rhine, Brissot in La Vendée; at Danton's suggestion the Edict of November 15th, 1792,¹ was repealed.

B. Reaction in the provinces.

(1) Girondin risings.

The Girondins had tried to rouse the provinces against the Paris mob; owing to the reactionary spirit which manifested itself in more than sixty departments and to resentment at the arrest of the Girondins, risings took place in Normandy and particularly at Caen, at Rouen, Bordeaux and Marseille. The Marseillais decided to march on Paris.

July 13th, 1793. Assassination of Marat in his bath by Charlotte Corday of Caen, a strong supporter of the Girondins.

(2) Royalist risings.

The Royalists gained the ascendancy at Lyons, where the leading Jacobins were murdered, at Toulon and in the departments of Ardèche and Lozère.

(3) La Vendée.

The rebels in La Vendée, led by De Launay and De la Rochejaquelein, captured Thouars on May 24th, 1793, and Saumur, which afforded a passage to the right bank of the Loire, on June 10th. The rebels now decided to co-operate with the reactionaries in Normandy and Brittany.

C. Danger from the Allies.

The Northern Army had been weakened by the treachery of Dumouriez; the Imperial, under Coburg, invaded France.

II. The Great Committee of Public Safety, July 18th, 1793.

The establishment of a strong government, which Danton desired, would have stopped the anarchy which the extremists found so profitable, and probably secured the punishment of those who had been guilty of violence. For their own safety Robespierre and Hébert desired to weaken the Mountain. The danger arising from foreign

invasion and internal rebellion required a strong executive. Both these causes combined to cause the election of the Great Committee of Public Safety on July 10th, 1793, which from September 8th, 1793, to July 27th, 1794, was absolute ruler of France and used the Terror to maintain its position.

The Convention continued, but "accepted without a murmur every measure proposed by the Committee."¹ On October 19th, 1793, the Convention, instead of endorsing the Constitution it had recently drawn up, resolved, on St. Just's proposal, "that the government be revolutionary until the peace." The Committee of General Defence, which exercised general police control over France, became subservient to the Great Committee of Public Safety, which by Danton on Maréchal, who established Revolutionary Committees in towns and were attached to the armies, maintained its authority over the provinces and over the republican generals.

The Hébertists, the most extreme Republicans, relied on the mob of Paris, to whom Hébert's streetwise paper, *Le Père Duchêne*, strongly appealed, secured predominance in the Committee and had many supporters in the army. Their object was plunder and personal profit. They were jealous of Robespierre, and up to March, 1794, exercised considerable influence on the course of events.

The Terror was the work of only a very small proportion of the population. The Terrorists in Paris were not more than 3000 in number.

A. Composition.

As finally constituted on September 8th the Committee consisted of eleven members. Danton was not a member, and the election of the new Committee marks his rejection of his policy.

¹ *Moreau-Stephens*.

(3) Robespierre.

Robespierre, supported by Couthon and St. Just, used the Terror to establish the ideal Republic which Rousseau had advocated. Robespierre had charge of no department of State; he was not popular with most of his colleagues, but his reputation for incorruptibility and his definite republican policy made his co-operation valuable.

(4) Billaud-Varenne and Collot d'Herbois.

These two, who joined the Committee on September 6th, were responsible for the worst features of the Terror. They murdered, not for political principles, but from sheer delight in slaughter.

(5) The Administrators.

The Administrators used the Terror to reorganise the farms of France, but otherwise were not responsible for its excesses. Carnot, "The Organizer of Victory," assisted by Priest of the Côte d'Or, reorganised the army with conspicuous success; St. André tried to make the raised navy efficient.

B. Military operations.

The army was purged of any remaining nobles; the union of the old regular army, the troops of the line, with the new battalions in February, 1793, had formed a united revolutionary army. In August a general levy resulted in the addition of 400,000 men. France became an armed camp. The training, discipline and equipment necessary were supplied owing to the brilliant administrative ability of Carnot.

(1) The Allies.

In July and August, 1793, the French suffered serious reverses. They lost Condé,¹ Valenciennes,² Maastricht,³ Toulon,⁴ and Le Quenai; the Spanish

¹ Page 287.⁴ Page 287.² Page 287.³ Page 288.

defeated the French in the Pyrenees; Pauli raised a rebellion in Corsica. But the revolutionary army saved the situation by the victories of Hondschoote¹ on September 24th; Wattignies,² on October 16th; and, after a defeat at Weissenberg on October 17th, Kaiserslautern on November 24th-25th; and Weissenberg on December 24th.

(2) *La Vendée.*

The victorious Vendéens failed to capture Nantes, where Cathelineau was killed, and their failure saved the Republic; won five pitched battles between September 16th and 22nd, 1793; crossed the Loire, in spite of the advice of La Rochejaquelein, but were routed by Kléber at Le Mans on December 12th and Savigny on December 13rd.

(3) *The South.*

Cortinas took Marseilles on August 25th; Lyons surrendered to Kellerman on October 9th, 1793; Toulon fell on December 18th, largely owing to the skill of Bonaparte, who commanded a battery of artillery.

(4) *Normandy.*

July 12th, 1793. The "army of Calvados" ran away from a Republican force at Vernon; the Girondin deputies fled from Caen to Rouen.

III. The Terror.

A. Terrorist legislation.

The establishment of the Great Committee of Public Safety marks the beginning of the Terror, an "era of blind and indiscriminate violence"; it was stimulated by new decrees passed in September.

- (1) September 3rd, 1793. A compulsory loan of 1000 million francs was enforced, and, by the Law of the

¹ Page 186.

² Page 186.

Maximums, prices were further reduced and the penalty of death imposed on all who demanded higher prices than the maximum.

- (2) September 6th, 1793. The Revolutionary Tribunal was divided into four sections; it could then deal more rapidly with the prisoners committed by the Revolutionary Committees of the Sections.
- (3) September 6th, 1793. By the "Law of the Forty Sols" a payment of forty sols was made for each attendance at Sectional Assemblies, which were to meet every Sunday and Thursday.
- (4) September 6th, 1793. A Revolutionary Army of 6000 infantry and 1200 artillerymen was established to support the Committee of Public Safety.
- (5) September 17th, 1793. The Law of the Suspect, "the promise of the guillotine," ordered the arrest of all who had shown themselves enemies of liberty, among whom were included all who had in any way opposed the Republic, had *no carte de civisme*, had been suspended from office by the Convention, were nobles or relatives of nobles, agents or their agents. Fifty thousand Revolutionary Committees were to be formed to discover suspects in the provinces.

From the September measures the Revolution had been to some extent a Reign of Terror. The decrees of September, 1793, and especially that of September 17th, established Terror as a legal and organized method of government.

B. The working of the Terror.

"To be safe," said Hébert, "you must kill all"; farmers, speculators and artisans who had broken the Law of the Maximum, as well as Royalists, nobles, Girondins and unsuccessful generals, suffered under the

Terror. The guillotine¹ stood on the Place de la Révolution, and the property of its victims passed to the State. "We coin money," said Barère, "on the Place de la Révolution."

(1) Paris.

a. The Queen.

October 16th, 1793. Execution of Marie Antoinette for favouring the Allies, sending money to the Emperor, encouraging a Counter-Revolution, betraying the plans of France to the Allies. She endured imprisonment and met her death with dignified courage.

b. The Girondins.

October 31st, 1793. Execution of Vergniaud, Brissot and other leading Girondins.

November 10th, 1793. Execution of Madame Roland.

Sabine of Bérard (November 14th), Condorcet (March, 1794), Pétion and Buzot (June, 1794).

c. Other victims.

November 6th, 1793, Philippe Égalité; November 15th, Bailly; Generals Curtius, Howard and Biron; May 16th, 1794, Princess Elizabeth; Madame du Barry.

(2) The provinces.

October, 1793. Lyons. Collot d'Herbois and Fouché shot prisoners in batches and destroyed much of the town.

At Marseilles, Fouché and Barras condemned 180 people in ten days; at Bordeaux, Tallien had 108 guillotined. At Nantes, where he introduced Robespierre, Carrier was responsible for the death of perhaps 15,000. His cruelty led the defeated Vendéens to remain under arms rather than surrender.

¹ So called from Dr. Guillotin, who had invented the machine which replaced the sword as the instrument of public execution.

In December, 1793, La Vendée was utterly devastated by the "*colonnes infernales*" of General Turreau.

(3) General.

The total number of victims of the Terror is said by Taine to have been 17,000, but was far more. The Revolutionary Tribunal of Paris executed 1935 between April 6th, 1793, and July 27th, 1794, and more than a third of the victims belonged to the lower classes.

The Terror "interfered tyrannically in all the affairs of life"; newspapers were sternly censored; taxes levied unfairly; private letters opened and property requisitioned.

IV. Attack on Religion.

The Hébertists were atheists, and owing to their influence the Commune and Convention attacked Christianity. "We want," said Hébert, "no other religion than that of Nature; no other temple than that of reason; no other worship than that of liberty, equality and fraternity."

A. Abolition of the Christian calendar.

The Republican calendar started with September 13th, 1792, from which date the years of the Republic were calculated. The twelve months were named according to the season: Vendémiaire, Brumaire, Frimaire for the autumn; Nivôse, Pluviôse, Ventôse for winter; Germinal, Floreal, Prairial for spring; Messidor, Thermidor, Fructidor for summer. A month consisted of three decades each of ten days. The tenth day was a day of rest.

Thus Sunday and the Saints Days were abolished.

B. The Clergy.

Pensions were offered to priests who gave up their spiritual duties; those who refused were transported to

Senegal. On November 7th, 1793, Gobel, Archbishop of Paris, publicly resigned his office. Grégoire, Bishop of Blois, refused to resign.

C. The worship of Reason.

November 10th, 1793. The feast of Reason was celebrated in Notre-Dame, where a woman of infamous character, wearing a cap of liberty and carrying a pike, represented Reason.

November 10th, 1793. The Convention closed all Christian churches in Paris.

V. Attempted Reform.

Many of the less extreme members of the Convention made an honest attempt at reform, although lack of money and other causes prevented their measures from being put into execution.

A. Feudal privileges.

Any remaining duties which were feudal in character were abolished without compensation.

B. Education.

Laws were passed for the establishment of free, compulsory, secular, primary schools and of three schools of medicine at Paris.

Orders were issued for the preservation of the old monastic libraries.

C. Civil Code.

Preparations were made for the compilation of a Civil Code.

D. Property.

Parents were compelled to leave at least five-sixths of their property equally between their children.

E. Slavery.

Negro slavery was abolished.

I. The Fall of the Hébertists.

A. Causes of their unpopularity.

The presence of Collot and Billaud in the Committee of Public Safety and their great influence in the Commune, the army and the Cordeliers Club were the foundations of the power of the Hébertists. But their robbery and prostitution emptied the Treasury and impaired the efficiency of the army; their generals proved incompetent; the Committee of Public Safety feared that the Hébertists would transfer its power to the Commune; strong opposition had been provoked by their attacks on Christianity; the Terror, the work of a small minority, was viewed with horror by the great majority of Frenchmen.

B. Union of Robespierre and Danton.

When Collot went to Lyons, Billaud sided with the Committee rather than the Commune. Robespierre, anxious to overthrow Hébert but to maintain the Terror, combined with Danton, who favoured a moderate policy, and both resented the atheism of the Hébertists. Danton, on December 4th, 1793, weakened the Hébertists by laws which gave the Committee of Public Safety, and not the Commune, authority over the Sections and forbade the Commune any longer to send Deputies as Ministers into the departments. This law "marks the final step in the establishment of the supremacy of the Committee of Public Safety."¹

With the approval of Robespierre and Danton, Camille Desmoulins violently attacked the atrocities of the Hébertists in the *Vieux Cordelier*, which first appeared on December 8th, 1793, and pleaded for the cessation of the Terror which the recent success of the French armies had rendered unnecessary. "I cannot forget," he said, "that the men they are killing by hundreds have also wives and children."

¹ *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. VIII, page 580.

C. The Fall, March 1794, 1794.

At one time Robespierre wavered, but his position was strengthened by the return of St. Just to the Committee and by the support of Hanriot, the commander of the military force of the Commune.

March 17th, 1794. Arrest of Hébert, Chaumette, Vincent, Cloots and others.

March 24th, 1794. Execution of the Hébertists, who had been condemned by the Revolutionary Tribunal for trying to overthrow the Convention and restore the monarchy.

VII. The Fall of the Dantonists.

Danton's desire for the mitigation of the Terror roused the hostility of Collot and Robespierre; Robespierre was glad to get rid of a possible rival; St. Just led the attack in the Convention on Danton on March 30th, 1794. Danton pleaded that his record proved his fidelity to the Revolution; his stentorian voice made his defence audible on the other side of the Seine; the Tribunal, fearing popular intervention on his behalf, cut short the trial and refused to allow all the prisoners to make their defence.

April 5th, 1794. Execution of Danton, Desmoulins and others.

VIII. The Ascendancy of Robespierre.

Robespierre was now supreme. The Mountain had been crushed with Danton, the Commune with Hébert. One of his supporters became Mayor of Paris; he was supreme in the Jacobin Club and the Revolutionary Tribunal; Hanriot, the Commander of the National Guard, was his strong supporter. In the Convention he could count on the support of the Plain, but in both the Committee of Public Safety and the Committee of General Defence his influence was weak: in the former only Couthon and St. Just, in the latter only David and Lebas supported him.

A. The Festival of the Supreme Being, June 8th, 1794.

Robespierre saw that the Terror was unlikely to last and, realising that public feeling had resented the immorality and atheism of Hébert, resolved to win further support by inaugurating a Reign of Virtue which would give practical effect to the teaching of Rousseau. But the Reign of Virtue was to be established by the destruction of all who might hinder it, i.e. the Terror was to continue.

May 7th, 1794. Robespierre persuaded the Convention to recognise officially the existence of a Supreme Being and the immortality of the soul.

June 8th, 1794. Robespierre presided at the Festival of the Supreme Being held in the gardens of the Tuileries.

B. The Law of 22 Prairial.

June 10th, 1794. Robespierre persuaded the Convention to pass the Law of 22 Prairial, by which the Revolutionary Tribunal was divided into four committees to facilitate its operations; accused were not allowed counsel; the only punishment was death; there was no appeal, and the decision was left "to the conscience of jurymen." The permission of the Convention was to be no longer necessary for the trial of deputies.

In less than seven weeks the reorganised Tribunal caused the execution of 1368 persons.

This law, by strengthening the Revolutionary Tribunal, was likely to confirm Robespierre's ascendancy. It was obviously intended to use the Terror as a means of overthrowing Robespierre's opponents.

IX. The Fall of Robespierre, July 28th, 1794.

Robespierre was not popular with the majority of the Terrorists, who resented his parade of incorruptibility and virtue. The remaining Hébertists, Billaud and Collot, objected to the worship of the Supreme Being, which emphasised the difference between them and him. The Law of the 22 Prairial created general consternation. The Convention and the two Public Committees seemed in immediate danger.

A. Robespierre's mistakes.

Robespierre's great mistake was that he relied on his moral influence and did not use the support of the Commune and Barriot to crush his opponents by force.

- (1) June 15th, 1794. Arrest of the crazy Catherine Théro, who was said to have regarded Robespierre as the Messiah. Robespierre therefore retired from public life for a fortnight and gave his enemies time to combine.
- (2) July 18th, 1794. In a great speech in the Convention Robespierre made a general attack on his enemies without specifying any by name. All feared his vengeance, and fear prevented resistance. The remaining Hébertists and Dantonists, independent Montagnards, the Plain, his enemies on the two Committees, all combined against him.

B. The fall of Robespierre.

July 25th, 1794. Robespierre was arrested and placed in the Luxembourg. He went to the Commune, but the Commune and Barriot did not stir up a rising, and the artillerymen disobeyed Barriot's orders to open fire on the Convention. A mob which might have supported Robespierre dispersed owing to heavy rain.

July 25th, 1794, 10th Thermidor. Barras, appointed to supersede Barriot, attacked the Commune at 2 a.m. and captured Robespierre, Couthon and St. Just, who had been outlawed by the Convention. They, and eighteen others, were executed at dawn without trial, and the majority of the Commune of Paris soon suffered a similar fate.

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Lectures on the French Revolution (Lord Acton), Macmillan, Lectures XVII, 112.

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THE REACTION AND THE END OF THE CONVENTION, JULY 27TH, 1794—OCTOBER 26TH, 1795

The parties which had effected the revolution of Thermidor had been united only by hatred of Robespierre. Collot and Billaud wished to secure the power for themselves and to maintain the Terror. But the Thermidorians, including St. Just, Tallien, Fouché and Barras, wished to end the Terror and secured a majority in the Convention, where the Right strongly resisted any attempt to reimpose the Terror. The Thermidorians were strengthened by the victory of Fleurus¹ on June 26th, 1794, which showed that the Terror was no longer necessary for the safety of France, and by the recall, on December 9th, 1794, of the members who had protested against the arrest of the Girondins and, on March 5th, 1795, of the surviving Girardin deputies, including Lejourné and Isnard.

Popular opinion, which expressed itself with growing power, demanded the repeal of Terrorist legislation and the punishment of the leading agents of the Terror, and found strong expression in such reactionary papers as Fouché's *L'Ordre du Peuple*, which first appeared on September 18th, 1794.

In Paris the *Journée Dorée*, supported by Fouché and consisting of young men of the middle and richer classes, led the reactionary mob and attacked the Jacobin Club on November 2th. The Provinces strongly supported the Counter-Revolution, and in the White Terror² many Jacobins were murdered in Toulon, Marseilles and Lyons during May and June, 1795.

¹ Page 343.

² So called to distinguish it from the recent "Red" Terror.

I. Reaction.

A. The Committee, Committee and Jacobin Club.

(1) The Committee.

The Committee of Public Safety became Thermidorian and much of the executive power exercised by the Committee of Public Safety and General Defence was transferred to the sixteen Committees of the Convention. The work of the former Committee was restricted to war and foreign policy; of the latter to police. The powers of Deputies en Mission were curtailed. The Jacobin Committees in provincial towns were suppressed.

(2) The Committee.

July 27th, 1794. The Committee of Paris was abolished and soon replaced by Commissioners appointed by the Convention.

(3) The Jacobin Club.

November 15th, 1794. The Jacobin Club was closed.

B. The reversal of the policy of the Terror.

(1) The repeal of Terrorist legislation.

August, 1794. Repeal of the Law of 22 Prairial.¹

August 22nd, 1794. Repeal of the Law of the Forty Days. Consequent weakening of the influence of the mob in Sectional Assemblies.

December 22nd, 1794. Repeal of the Law of the Maximum.

(2) The Church.

"The majority of Frenchmen were irrevocably attached to the Catholic religion,"² and although the Convention was largely atheistic, public opinion compelled it to reverse its religious policy.

a. The Law of 5 Ventose.

February 23rd, 1795. Owing to the efforts of the Abbé Grégoire, who had remained faith-

¹ Page 371.

² *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. VIII, page 382.

ful to Catholicism, the Convention granted liberty of worship, but imposed restrictions on places of worship. Mass was said in Paris on February 22nd, and the restrictions were disregarded.

B. Treatment of priests.

The decrees of banishment which had been passed against priests were repealed; the Convention undertook to pay allowances to acting priests, while continuing to pay pensions to those who had abdicated.

(3) The émigrés.

December 21st, 1794. The sale of the property of friends of émigrés was stopped.

[May 3rd, 1795. The property of people who had been guillotined was restored to their friends.]

C. The punishment of the Terrorists.

August 10th, 1794. The Revolutionary Tribunal was reorganized and most persons accused were acquitted; from August 15th to September 16th only fourteen were condemned out of 265. But popular clamour compelled the Convention to punish Terrorists.

August 13th, 1794. Execution of "Robespierre's tail."

December 16th, 1794. Condemnation, and subsequent execution of Carrier.¹

March 2nd, 1795. Billard, Collet and Barthe were tried and sentenced to transportation, but Barthe was allowed to escape.

D. Dress and manners.

The red caps of liberty were given up in favour of hats; the words "citizen" and "citizenship" were no longer used, and the familiar "thou" and "thee" were discarded as a method of address.

¹ Page 368.

II. Risings against the Convention.

The Jacobins viewed with alarm the progress of reaction and feared that further vengeance would be taken on the Terrorists, especially after the return of the Girondin supporters on March 8th, 1793. They demanded the establishment of the Constitution of 1793.

Grain distress prevailed in Paris. The assignats fell rapidly and in May, 1793, were worth only seven per cent of their nominal value; prices were inflated, and the poorer classes were kept alive only by occasional distribution of meat and by the daily distribution of bread at three sous a pound. But farmers tended to hold up supplies, especially after the repeal of the Maximum, and many died of starvation. Material suffering gave an opportunity to Jacobin agitators.

A. Jacobin risings.

(i) The rising of 12 Germinal.

April 1st, 1793. A mob entered the Convention demanding "Bread and the Constitution of 1793." But the middle class were determined that the Terror should not be re-established. The National Guard supported the Convention, the rising was easily suppressed and Fichet restored order in Paris.

The rising strengthened the cause of reaction. It secured the punishment of Billaud, Collot and Barthe, and provoked a decree that all Terrorists should be dismissed.

April 5th, 1793. Arrest of fifteen of the leading Montagnards.

April 10th, 1793. The National Guard was re-organised as a middle-class force.

May 7th, 1793. Execution of Bazquieu-Therolle, the former Public Accuser; fifteen judges of the Revolutionary Tribunal were executed after a trial lasting six weeks.

May-June, 1793. Many Terrorists were murdered in the White Terror at Lyons, Toulon, Arignon, Arles and Marseille.

(2) The rising of 1 Prairial.

May 30th, 1793. With the approval of the Jacobins a starving mob, drawn largely from the Faubourg St. Antoine and including many "Furies of the Guillotine," entered the Convention, demanded "Bread and the Constitution of 1793," murdered a deputy, Bernard. The hall was cleared by the National Guard; the Convention promised to supply more bread and to reconsider the question of the Constitution. Menon, with a force of 30,000 men, supplied largely by the middle-class sections, compelled the Faubourg St. Antoine to surrender.

The Convention took further reactionary measures. The Sections were abolished and replaced by twelve *municipalités*¹; the National Guard was again re-organized; the Revolutionary Tribunal was suppressed on May 31st, 1793; sixty-two Montagnards were arrested (but Carnot was spared owing to his organisation of victory) and the Jacobin party was finally destroyed.

[April 8th, 1793. The Treaty of Basle with Prussia, followed by treaties with Holland (April), Sweden (May) and Spain (July), strengthened the position of the Convention.]

B. Royalist risings.

(1) The Dauphin and the Comte de Provence.

The Royalist party, which found some support even in the Convention, was encouraged by the progress of reaction, and gradually the idea grew that the monarchy alone could put an end to famine and misery. Growing sympathy was felt with the little Dauphin

¹ *Armoûtiements*.

(Louis XVII), but when he died on June 10th, 1795, owing to the utter brutality with which he had been treated, his uncle the Comte de Provence, afterwards Louis XVIII, succeeded to his rights. He might have secured the throne by a conciliatory policy, but feebly denounced the Constitutionalists and threatened vengeance on all who had opposed the monarchy.

(2) La Vendée.

The Royalists resolved, with the aid of Britain, which had refused to make peace with France, to take advantage of the discontent in La Vendée, where a fresh rising, headed by Charette, Stofflet and the Marquis de Puisaye, had broken out owing to the cruelty of Turreau.¹ An English fleet defeated a French squadron and landed 3000 *volontaires* at Quiberon Bay on June 15th, 1795.

July 26th, 1795. Hoche utterly routed the combined forces of *volontaires* and Chouans.² Tallien, who represented the Convention, was suspected of Royalist intrigues and tried to prove his loyalty by a general massacre of the *volontaires*.

(3) The Comte d'Artois.

October, 1795. Failure of an expedition of English troops and French *volontaires* which had been arranged by the Comte d'Artois.³ Execution of Charette and Stofflet.

III. The Constitution of the Year III.

Both the recent risings had aimed at the establishment of the Constitution of 1793. But the reactionary party desired a less democratic Constitution, and a new scheme, due largely to Boissy d'Anglas, was drawn up.

¹ Page 363.

² The Vendéens were called Chouans because one of their leaders used the cry of a small tree, *chouan*, as a signal.

³ Afterwards Charles X.

A. The new Constitution.

(1) The Legislature.

The Legislature was to consist of two chambers. The lower chamber, the Council of Five Hundred, had a minimum age limit of thirty and alone could propose laws; war could not be declared nor treaties made without the assent of the Legislature. The Council of Ancients, limited to married men or widowers at least forty years of age, and therefore, presumably, of sound judgment, had only the right of vetoing laws.

The deputies were chosen by secondary assemblies which were elected by primary assemblies, and there was a property qualification for each assembly. One-third of each Council was to retire annually.

(2) The Executive.

The Executive was to consist of a Directory of Five elected by the Ancients from fifty candidates nominated by the Five Hundred. Each Director was to preside over the Directory for three months; one Director retired annually.

The Directors were to appoint six ministers, but neither ministers nor Directors could sit in either Council of the Legislature. Directors had no vote on legislation, and, while generally directing foreign policy and disposing of the armed forces, could not themselves command troops. Directors were liable to impeachment.

(3) Local government.

The system of local government established in 1794 was retained with some alterations. Departments were retained, but the directorates of departments and districts were abolished, the number of local municipalities was reduced, and Commissioners nominated by the Directory replaced the elected officials who had previously directed local administration.

(4) General.

The liberty of the individual, liberty of worship, freedom of the press and security of property were guaranteed; political clubs and armed assemblies were forbidden.

(5) *Chapelier*.

Although the Declaration of the Rights of Man was retained, the Constitution of 1793 showed that its failures had profited by the failure of the Legislative Assembly and the Convention.

The institution of two chambers, the separation of the Executive from the Legislature and the careful definition of the powers to be exercised by the different parts of the new Government avoided some serious faults in previous constitutions. The provision that voting in the chambers should be secret, that spectators of the sessions should be limited in number, that the Legislative Chambers might, if necessary, meet elsewhere than in Paris, that troops should not come close enough to overawe the chambers, showed that the rule of the mob would be no longer tolerated. The Constitution remained republican, but became *bourgeois* rather than democratic.

B. The Decrees of 5 and 13 Fructidor.

But there still remained a feeling in favour of monarchy, and the fear that the new elections might result in the election of a Royalist majority which would overthrow the Republic and take vengeance on the Convention, led the Thermidorians to protect themselves by ensuring their supremacy in the proposed Legislative Chambers.

(1) 5 Fructidor.

August 22nd, 1795. The decree of 5 Fructidor provided that two-thirds of the Convention were to become members of the Legislative Chambers. Thus the

rights of the electors were seriously impaired, and the danger that new members might reverse the general policy of the Revolution was obviated.

(2) 13 Fructidor.

August 31st, 1796. The decree of 13 Fructidor empowered the Convention to fill any seats in the Legislature which had remained unfilled owing to the election of deputies for more than one constituency.

C. The Rising of 13 Vendémiaire.

The unpopularity of the Convention was greatly increased by the decrees of Fructidor. Forty-four out of forty-eight Sections rose in revolt; the National Guards joined the movement, which was strongly supported by Royalists such as the Duke of Nemours, Generals Bervan and Lefebvre.

Common danger led to a union of all members of the Convention—Girondins, the Heins and ex-Terrorist Montagnards. Barras, appointed commander of the forces of the Convention, secured the help of Bonaparte, who brought to Paris a strong force of artillery.

October 5th, 1796. The insurgents advanced towards the Tuilleries, but were cut to pieces by Bonaparte's artillery and about a hundred were killed.

October 26th, 1796. The Convention proclaimed a general amnesty, changed the name of the *Place de la Révolution* to that of the *Place de la Concorde*, and dissolved itself.

References:

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 Lectures ix, xii.
History of the French Revolution (Mignet), G. Bell and Sons,
 chaps. 2, xi.

THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR TO THE TREATY OF BASLE, APRIL 30TH, 1792—APRIL 5TH, 1795

I. General.

The Legislative Assembly declared war against the King of Hungary and Bohemia on April 30th, 1792, and Prussia, in accordance with the treaty of February,¹ declared war against France on July 20th, 1792.

A. France.

(1) The Army.

The French regular army had been reorganised by St. Germain, but dissatisfaction had been aroused by the rigid Prussian-discipline he introduced. The officers, drawn from the lower nobility, were frequently inefficient and often left the non-commissioned officers, who formed the backbone of the army, to manage affairs. The soldiers, who were volunteers, were badly paid, badly fed and badly housed. But the old soldiers knew their work, and while the infantry and cavalry were equal to those of Prussia, the French artillerymen and military engineers were better. But the new organisation was not completed; the doctrine of the sovereignty of the people and the equality of men affected the army, and committees, introduced by the Jacobin Club, often arranged mutinies; there were many desertions, and only the twenty-three regiments of foreigners were entirely trustworthy. A call for volunteers in August, 1791, led to the addition of only half the expected number by August, 1792, although the volunteers were allowed to choose their own officers and to return home at the end of a campaign. The force which defended the northern

¹ Page 263

and eastern frontiers when the war started numbered only 42,000 men, and the border fortresses, particularly Longwy and Verdun, were badly equipped.

(2) The flight to Varennes.

The army had taken oaths of obedience to the King. The flight to Varennes on June 21st, 1791, weakened the morale of the army by showing that the King wished to leave France. His action cancelled their oaths.

(3) The war was national and defensive.

The *émigrés*, by siding with foreign enemies who wished to invade France, made the war not civil but national. The Assembly had to defend their country from invasion, and the negotiations of the "Austrian Committee," and especially of the Queen, with the Austrians, increased the danger. The manifestos of the Duke of Brunswick¹ roused national feeling.

"Right or wrong in its origin, the war was now unquestionably a just one on the part of France, a war against a privileged class attempting to recover by force the unjust advantages they had not been able to maintain, a war against the foreigner in defence of the right of the nation to deal with its own government."²

B. Prussia and Austria.

The death of Leopold II on March 1st, 1792, the murder of Gustavus III³ of Sweden on March 17th and the youth of Francis II made Frederick William II of Prussia the leader of the Allies.

The Prussian army had deteriorated since the death of Frederick II; its artillery, staff work, medical service and commissariat were weak. The Austrian army, though strong in cavalry, lacked supplies. The *émigrés*, though brave individually, were of little value as a fighting force.

¹ Page 342.

² *Modern Europe (Tyndal)*, page 32.

³ Page 323.

The Allies were weakened by dissension. Frederick William favoured a dash at Paris; Brunswick wished to seize the Barrier Fortresses. The jealousy between Prussia and Austria about the impending Partition of Poland and the obvious desire of each nation to secure territorial extension led to discord which hampered military operations and was one of the reasons for the failure of the invasion.

The slowness of the Allies in the first four months of the war gave France time to make preparations for resistance.

II. The Campaign of 1792.

The Prussians, numbering 40,000, under Brunswick, were to march along the Moselle and to unite with an Austrian army from the Rhine; another Austrian army from the Netherlands was to attack Lille. Paris was the ultimate objective.

A. The Prussians.

(1) Successes.

August 23rd, 1792. The Prussians took Longwy and, on September 2nd, Verdun.

(2) The cannonade of Valmy.

Dumouriez, profiting by the slow advance of Brunswick, who foolishly neglected to seize the main road to Paris, held the line of the Argonne to defend Paris.

September 20th, 1792. Dumouriez checked Brunswick at Valmy. This success greatly encouraged the French and added to the difficulties of the Prussians, who were suffering severely from sickness and lack of provisions.

Retreat of the Prussians unaided by Dumouriez, who did not know the hopeless condition of the Prussian army, welcomed the evacuation of France and was not anxious to try his "new undisciplined army" too severely. The Prussians evacuated Verdun on October 14th and Longwy on October 23rd.

B. The Rhine.

The Army of the Rhine, under Custine, took Spire on September 30th and Mainz, where it was welcomed by a revolutionary party, on October 21st, 1793. But the conduct of Custine's troops and his heavy exactions alienated those who had sympathized with the Revolution. Custine invaded Germany and took Frankfurt.

C. The Netherlands.

The Austrians failed to capture Lille and were routed by Dumouriez on November 6th, 1793, at Jemappes, largely owing to the French artillery. The Netherlands were strongly anti-Austrian and the Jacobins¹ were republicans. Dumouriez was welcomed by the Belgians, entered Namur on November 7th and Brussels on the 14th; by November 28th the Austrians had evacuated the country, Dumouriez being unable to cut them off owing to lack of supplies.

The French, carried away by their success at Jemappes, on November 18th, 1793, declared themselves ready to help all peoples against their Kings; proclaimed, in defiance of all treaties, that the Scheldt was an open river because it rose in a free country; on January 26th, 1794, incorporated the Belgians in the French army, and contemplated an invasion of Holland.

But the Belgians, who were strong Catholics, greatly resented the interference of the French with Church property; the introduction of armaments injured trade; the annexation of Belgians by the Legislative Assembly aroused national feeling, and the misconduct of the soldiers caused great indignation.

D. Nice and Savoy.

September, 1793. The French seized Nice and Savoy, which belonged to the King of Sardinia.

¹ Page 386.

III. The Campaign of 1793.

The decree of November 18th, 1792, was a challenge to all monarchies; the opening of the Scheldt revealed a determination to abrogate treaties and seemed to threaten Britain's naval position; the execution of Louis XVI on January 21st, 1793, aroused strong feeling against France. Pitt was anxious to save Poland and Turkey from Russia and, with this object, to reconcile France and Austria; but the growing hatred of the Revolution in England, which was increased by Burke's speeches and the refusal of the French to promise that the Netherlands should not be annexed, rendered war certain.

February 1st, 1793. France declared war against Great Britain and Holland.

March 7th, 1793. France declared war on Spain.

Pitt formed the First Coalition against France, including Great Britain, Prussia, Austria, Spain and Holland.

But the Coalition was weakened by discord. Pitt insisted that Austria should retain the Netherlands and not exchange them for Bavaria, as the Emperor desired; Pitt agreed that Austria, with the help of Prussia, should secure Alsace and Lorraine; Frederick William II was unwilling to conquer territory for Austria unless the Emperor agreed to the scheme for the partition of Poland which Catherine II and he had formed; Thugot, the Austrian minister, was very hostile to Prussia. Dissensions between the Allies rendered concerted action impossible and again served France, in spite of the grave internal danger caused by the revolt of Marseilles and other towns¹ and the rising in La Vendée.

A. The Netherlands.

February 9th, 1793. The Prussians, anticipating Dutch resistance, seized Maastricht. Dutch resistance, though greatly hampered by lack of supplies and transport,

¹ Page 281.

invaded Holland and took Breda and Gortropenberg; but Miranda was forced to give up the siege of Maastricht.

March 18th, 1793. Colberg, the Austrian general, routed Dumouriez at Neerwinden, but failed to follow up the pursuit and to annihilate the beaten French army.

April 2d, 1793. Dumouriez joined the Austrians, but his army refused to accompany him. The French evacuated Belgium.

B. The Rhine.

(1) French failures.

March, 1793. Custine, whose left was threatened by the Prussians, retreated into France, leaving only 20,000 men to hold Mainz, which the Prussians besieged.

July 23d, 1793. The Prussians took Mainz.

November 18th, 1793. Hoche was defeated by the Prussians at Kaiserslautern.

(2) French success.

December 26th, 1793. Hoche routed the Prussians at Weissenburg, relieved Landau and overran the Palatinate.

C. The English and Austrians in the North.

The allied forces, under the command of Colberg, now attacked the Barrier Fortresses which blocked the road to Paris. Some authorities hold that Colberg should simply have marched the fortresses and hurried his cavalry on to Paris; others consider that, in spite of the delay his policy involved, Colberg was right to ensure his communications by taking the fortresses. Custine was made commander of the Army of the North.

July 10th, 1793. The Allies took Condé.

July 26th, 1793. The Allies took Valenciennes. Custine was guillotined for his failure. The Austrians retained Condé and Valenciennes. York therefore

attacked Dunkirk, and the Prussians Lozenburg. The greed of the Allies thus led them to neglect the urgent task of destroying the French armies.

August, 1793. Failure of York to take Dunkirk from the north.

September 8th, 1793. Defeat of Freytag, who was threatening Dunkirk from the east, at Hondschote by Houchard, who was guillotined for failing to follow up his victory.

October 16th, 1793. Jourdan defeated the Austrians at Wattignies and compelled Ouborg to raise the siege of Valenciennes. This victory was the first result of the policy of Carnot, who had joined the Committee of Public Safety on August 14th. He established strong central control; rapidly raised new forces of volunteers to whom, and not to the old regulars, subsequent victories were due; improved the commissariat; vastly increased the supply of guns and ammunition; favoured the policy of attacking in columns rather than in line, and thus facilitated mobility of movement and rapidity of counter-stroke.

D. The South.

(1) Sardinia.

The seizure of Nice and Savoy led Sardinia to declare war. A Sardinian army invaded Savoy, but were driven out by Kellerman in September, 1793.

(2) Spain.

The Spaniards had taken up arms in defence of the principle of monarchy and of the Holy Catholic Church, and they invaded Brissillon in April, 1793.

(3) Toulon.

August 26th, 1793. Admiral Hood seized Toulon.

December 18th, 1793. The British evacuated Toulon.

IV. The Campaign of 1794 and 1795.

A. The North.

- (1) The French again conquer Belgium and reach the Rhine.

The Prussians were withdrawn for service in Poland.¹ Differences in the Austrian army, where, said Thugot, "everyone does exactly as he pleases," and lack of co-operation between the British and Austrians, hampered the Allies.

May 18th, 1794. Pichegru's Army of the North routed at Turnhout the Austrians and British. This defeat convinced the Emperor that the march on Paris was impossible.

June 18th, 1794. Jourdan, commanding the Army of the Sambre and Meuse, who had just taken Charleroi routed Coling at Fleurus. The British withdrew into Holland, the Austrians to the Rhine. The victory of Fleurus, by removing the danger of foreign invasion, contributed to the overthrow of the Terror.²

- (2) Pichegru overran Holland.

October, 1794. Pichegru overran Brest, crossed the rivers on the sea, took with his cavalry the Dutch fleet in the Texel and entered Amsterdam in January, 1795. The British retreated into Hanover.

B. The Rhine.

October, 1794. Jourdan pursued the Austrians and took Cologne, Andernach and Coblenz.

October, 1794. Retreat across the Rhine of Mollath's Prussian army which Pitt's subsidies had brought into the field.

September, 1795. Pichegru had treacherously negotiated with the Austrians and promised to overthrow the Directory and restore Louis XVIII in return for heavy bribes. Pichegru occupied Mannheim, but

¹ Page 264.

² Page 175.

disobeyed his orders to effect a junction with Jourdan, who, partly owing to Pickens's treachery, was routed by the Austrians under Clairfaut outside Mainz.

December 31st, 1795. Pickens made an armistice with the Austrians.

C. The South.

November, 1794. The French defeated the Spaniards and invaded Catalonia.

November, 1795. Scherer routed the Sardinians at Lyons and secured the road into Piedmont.

D. The Sea.

June 1st, 1794. Howe defeated the French fleet off Ushant on "The Glorious First of June."

Thus, as the result of four years' war, France had extended her power to the Rhine, annexed Nice and Savoy and conquered Holland.

V. The Treaty of Basle.

France having now secured her natural boundaries, re-established her position in Europe and added greatly to her territory, desired peace. She therefore made separate treaties with some of her enemies and dissolved the First Coalition.

A. Prussia, April 5th, 1795.

Prussia was anxious to be free to profit by the Third Partition of Poland; she had withdrawn from the war against France in October, 1794, when Pitt refused to continue the English subsidy owing to the ineffective co-operation of Prussia.

April 5th, 1795. Largely owing to the skill of Barthélemy, Prussia made the Treaty of Basle with France. The question of the extension of France to the Rhine was left over, but Prussia was to receive compensation if France obtained the provinces of Cleves and Oberghelen which Prussia claimed. Prussia became neutral, and the French agreed to regard as neutral the northern

states of Germany. Frederick William thus appeared as the protector of North Germany and was left free to act in Poland.

B. Holland, May 1805, 1795.

Holland agreed to abolish the Stadtholderate and became dependent on France. Establishment of the Batavian Republic.

C. Spain, July 1808, 1795.

Owing to the efforts of Godoy, Spain made peace. France gave up her conquests in Spain, which ended with San Domingo to France.

By the end of 1795 France had made peace with Saxony, Russia, Naples and Parma, and had secured the help of the Spanish and Dutch fleets against Great Britain.

The success of France in the war had been largely due to the enthusiasm of the new "revolutionary army," the skill of the new leaders such as Hoche, who had risen from the ranks, and the inspiring and efficient efforts of Carnot.

References :

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THE DIRECTORY

NOVEMBER, 1795—NOVEMBER, 1799

I. The First Directory.

A. Members.

The first Directors were Lacroix-Lévesque, a lawyer distinguished for his hatred of Christianity and

his support of Theophilanthropism; Berthel, an able revolutionary whose influence was supreme for four years; Basse, a man of noble birth but immoral and ambitious; Lacombe who supported Carnot; Carnot, who had been elected to replace Hébert, who declined office, had shared the responsibility of the Terror. All had voted for the death of Louis XVI.

B. Divisions.

The Revolutionary party—Berthel, Lacombe-Lépeaux and Basse—wished to continue to war, to enforce the decrees passed by the Convention on October 25th, which reserved former penalties against clergy and relatives of émigrés, and to continue revolutionary methods. They were supported by most of the "Two Thirds," that part of the Legislature which had been nominated by the Convention.¹

The Constitutionals, later known as the *Clubistes*, from the Club de Clichy to which most belonged, included Lacombe and Carnot and most of "the Third," or newly elected Five Hundred. They wished to end the war, to establish constitutional government, to abolish the law of October 25th. While not generally Royalist, some of the *Clubistes*, in their hatred of the Terror, were inclined to establish limited constitutional monarchy. Pichegru favoured the restoration of Louis XVIII, although he refused to accept any limitation of the royal authority; some supported the Duke of Orleans (afterwards King Louis Philippe), and some a French prince. These differences weakened the party and gave some grounds for the accusation of royalism.

C. The condition of France under the Directory.

(1) Finance.

a. Currency.

The financial condition of the country was hopeless, but no Budget was issued under the

¹ Paps 280.

Directory and it is impossible to give full details. The assignats were of little value. On April 11th, 1794, mandats were issued in place of assignats, but soon fell to one per cent of their face value. Gold and silver became so scarce that when Bonaparte went to Italy in February, 1796, his war chest contained only two thousand louis in coin.

b. The "bankruptcy of the Two Thirds."

September 26th, 1797. By the "bankruptcy of the Two Thirds" two-thirds of the public debt were cancelled and bonds, which soon lost all value, were issued instead.

c. Finances and war.

France had more than a quarter of a million men on active service, but these lived on the conquered countries and levied heavy contributions which were paid into the Treasury; the Directors instructed Bonaparte to "leave nothing in Italy which will be useful to us," and he took 750,000 francs and twenty pictures from the Duke of Modena; 24,000,000 francs and a hundred pictures from the King of Naples; 10,000,000 francs and a promise of 300,000,000 more, five hundred manuscripts and a hundred pictures from the Pope.

The Directory was therefore bound to continue the war, because peace would have compelled it to pay the army from State funds and would have deprived it of a lucrative source of income.

d. Corruption.

The government of the Directory was utterly corrupt. Barras offered to support Malmebury's negotiations for peace at Lillo on payment of \$200,000 to Bonaparte and himself; most of the contributions from conquered

country was endorsed by Directors and ministers. A Commission reported in 1799 that "no part of the administration was free from corruption and immorality."

Population, smuggling and inefficient administration prevented local authorities from sending to Paris more than a fraction of the contributions due to the Government.

c. General.

Feignings of war general in the departments; the poor of Paris were kept alive only by daily doles; bridges and public works were dilapidated.

But there was a considerable growth of prosperity among the peasantry and smallholders.

(c) Religious difficulties.

After September, 1797, the laws of October 24th, 1795, against non-juring priests, which had been nearly a dead letter, were vigorously enforced.

The Directors tried to suppress the observance of Sunday; ordered churches to be closed, schools to be opened on that day; tried to make the *décadi* a sabbath on which all work was prohibited; substituted republican fêtes for Christian holy days.

(d) *Assignats*.

The property of the *assignats* formed part of the security for the *assignats* and had passed into other hands; a general restoration of this property would have caused social anarchy, and it was declared to belong to the State.

The Constitutional party tried, with little success, to secure the repeal of civil disabilities imposed by the law of October 25th on the relatives of *assignats*.

II. The Coup d'État of 18 Fructidor, September 4th, 1797.

The suppression of the conspiracies of Babaud on May 16th, 1796, and of the Royalist Abbé Brothier on January 30th, 1797, was easily effected.

A. *Châliens' sentence.*

The elections of March and April, 1797, gave the *Châliens* a majority in both chambers, but "the triumvirate"—Barras, Bernas and Lacroix—outvoted the Constitutionals, Carnot and Barthélemy.¹ The *Châliens* now passed laws in favour of priests and the relatives of *émigrés*. They violently censured the Directory for the failure of the negotiations for peace at Lillo in July, 1797, and attacked many of the ministers; on June 52nd they censured Bonaparte for his treatment of Venice and Naples.

B. The coup d'état.

The Triumvirate asserted that the *Châliens* were implicated in a Royalist plot and appealed to Bonaparte for military help; he dictated the Directory, refused to intervene personally, but sent Angereau, who was put in command of the troops in Paris, "to kill the royalists."

September 4th, 1797. Angereau, with 12,000 men, dispersed the Legislature.

C. The vengeance of the Triumvirate.

September 5th, 1797. By the Law of 19 Fructidor the supporters of the Directory annulled recent elections in forty-nine departments, all the officials of which were to be nominated by the Directors; ordered the transportation of Carnot, Barthélemy, thirty-eight members of the Legislature, General Fochegny and the Abbé Brothier; re-enacted the laws against priests and *émigrés*; gave the Directors absolute power over clubs and newspapers.

¹ Who was elected in place of Lacroix on May 27th, 1797.

D. General.

The struggle between the Executive and the Legislature had ended with the victory of the former; the Legislature, until the next elections, did little but obey the orders of the Directors. But the victory was gained by the army and was a step towards the ultimate establishment of military despotism.

The treasury of Pichegru¹ was the sole justification of the charge of Royalist intrigues.

Carnot escaped to Switzerland, but the rest of the condemned *Clichés* were transported to Guiana, where most soon died.

III. The Coup d'État of 18 Brumaire, November 9th, 1799.

A. The Constitutionalsists come into power, 1799.

The Directors strengthened their position by the coup d'État of 18 Brumaire, May 11th, 1798, when they annulled the elections in seven departments, nominated their own deputies in twenty-three departments and excluded forty-eight deputies from whom they anticipated opposition.

But the elections of April, 1799, went against the Directors, who were greatly weakened by the retirement of Bawbœll, their leader, in May. He was succeeded by Edpin.

B. Growing discontent.

(1) The war.

Military necessities led to the passage of the Law of Conscription on September 26th, 1798, by which all unmarried Frenchmen between the ages of twenty and twenty-five became liable to service. But the pick of the army had gone to Egypt in May, 1798, with Bonaparte, who was willing to allow the Directors to complete their own ruin and give him an opportunity later of intervening to his own advantage. The numbers of conscripts actually enrolled fell far short

¹ Page 282.

of the number required; generals and soldiers "found themselves without pay, without clothes, without reinforcements." Jourdan was defeated at Stockach on March 25th, 1799; Schérer at Magnano on April 5th; Moreau at Cassano on April 27th; and Joubert was defeated and killed at Novi on August 15th.

(2) Internal discontent.

The Directors were most unpopular owing to their corruption, the hopeless state of the finances, the religious persecutions, conscription and their utter failure to maintain order in France and to check the brigandage that broke out in forty-five departments. They had kept their position largely owing to Bonaparte's victories in 1796-1797; the disasters of 1798^a and the Law of Hostages of July 18th, which provided that their relatives might be seized as hostages for the good behaviour of *deputés*, greatly increased the opposition to the Directors.

C. The Abbe Siéyès.

(1) The coup d'état of 30 Prairial, June 18th, 1799.

Siéyès, who was regarded as the champion of France against the tyranny of the Directors, was determined to establish a new constitution. He was supported by Barras, and on June 18th, 1799 (30 Prairial), Larveilhère, Merlin of Douai and Trubhard, the other three Directors, were compelled to resign and replaced by others, of whom Dumas joined Siéyès, who thus gained a majority.

(2) Bonaparte joins Siéyès.

For the revolution he contemplated Siéyès needed military force. He hoped to secure the help of Joubert, but Joubert was killed at Novi; Moreau and Bernadotte refused to help him. Bonaparte landed at Fréjus on October 9th; after finding that neither Dumas nor Bernadotte would help him to

^a Page 259.

secure the supremacy he desired he agreed, on October 26th, to support Siéyès, who was popular and could rely upon the support of Dumas, though Barras now was hostile, of a majority of the Ancients and of some of the Five Hundred, of which Lucien Bonaparte had recently been elected President; Murat, Lannes and Berthier won over the officers of the army at Paris; Talleyrand and Cambacérès joined the plot.

D. The coup d'état of 18 Brumaire, November 9th, 1799.

November 8th, 1799. The Ancients voted that the Legislature should be transferred to St. Cloud, to avoid possible interference by the mob of Paris, and made Bonaparte commander of the troops. Barras, Siéyès and Dumas resigned; the other two Directors were imprisoned.

November 10th, 1799. The majority of the Five Hundred opposed the plot, but troops entered the hall and cleared it with the bayonet. A small body of selected deputies appointed a Commission which recommended that the Directory should be abolished and that Bonaparte, Siéyès and Dumas should act as a provisional government until a new constitution was established. The acceptance of these recommendations by the Ancients ended the Directory.

The military but bloodless coup d'état of 18 Brumaire was the triumph of the Republic over the corruption and inefficiency of the Directory; it was approved by all classes who supported Bonaparte because his past record, of which the lower portions were not generally known, seemed to mark him out as the saviour of France. It marks a further step towards the establishment of the military despotism.

References:

- Revolutionary Europe* (Morse Stephens), Kivrington, chap. vi.
Cambridge Modern History, Vol. VIII, chaps. xvi, xxii, xxiii.
History of the French Revolution (Mignet), G. Bell and Sons, chaps. xii, xiii.
Life of Napoleon I (Ross), G. Bell and Sons.

THE WARS OF THE DIRECTORY¹

THE WAR WITH AUSTRIA, 1794-1797.

The campaign on the Rhine had been directed against the Empire rather than Austria. The battle of Loano had opened the way into Piedmont; the neutrality of Switzerland prevented the flanks of both the Army of Italy and the Army of the Rhine. Carnot therefore resolved to attack in Italy the Austrians, who held the Milanese, in the hope of securing territory which might be exchanged for the Netherlands, and to send two armies into Germany to prevent the Austrians from concentrating in Italy. Austria was bound to maintain her hold on Italy; "to exclude the influence of the French Revolution from the Peninsula was an Austrian interest even more important than the preservation of Antwerp, the defence of the Rhine or the avenging of the royal victims of the guillotine."²

I. The Campaign in Germany, 1795.

June, 1795. The Army of the Saône and Meuse, under Jourdan, rapidly advanced along the Moselle; the Army of the Rhine, under Moreau, along the Neckar. Submission of Württemberg, Baden and Bavaria to Moreau.

September 26th, 1795. The Archduke Charles, having wisely concentrated his forces against Jourdan, routed him at Altenkirchen. Moreau's flank was turned, but he saved his army by a masterly retreat and recrossed the Rhine on October 26th.

[August 5th 1796. By a secret treaty Prussia agreed to the extension of the French frontier to the Rhine on condition that she received the Bishopric of Münster in compensation for her territories west of the Rhine. Prussia thus

¹ For military operations to the end of 1795, see page 298.

² *Reynolds* (H. L. Fisher), page 55.

agreed to the disintegration of the Empire and accepted the principle of the Secularisation of Ecclesiastical States.]

II. The Campaign in Italy, 1796-1797.

A. The conquest of the Sardinians.

* March 30th, 1796. Bonaparte took command of the badly supplied and discouraged Army of Italy, relieved its immediate needs and soon inspired it with his own enthusiasm.

Victor Amadeus III, owing to the seizure of Nice and Savoy,¹ co-operated with the Austrians, who sent 32,000 men, under Beaulieu, to support him. Failing owing to lack of agreement between the Allies, Bonaparte separated them.

(1) Bonaparte's victories.

April, 1796. Bonaparte routed the Sardinians at Montenotte, Dego and Millesimo and advanced on Turin.

(2) The Armistice of Cherasco.

April 28th, 1796. Victor Amadeus III agreed to the neutrality of Sardinia and surrendered Cuni and other fortresses which commanded the passage of the Alps. The Directory endorsed the Armistice and concluded a treaty by which Victor Amadeus gave up Nice and Savoy.

Bonaparte's rear was now safe and reinforcements could easily be sent from France. He therefore advanced into Lombardy.

B. The Conquest of Lombardy.

(1) Lodi.

May 10th, 1796. Bonaparte, having crossed the Po and compelled Beaulieu to evacuate Milan by threatening his communications, routed him at Lodi.

¹ Page 461.

May 18th, 1796. Bonaparte entered Milan; the Dukes of Modena and Parma submitted.

June 6th, 1796. Ferdinand of Naples made an armistice with Napoleon.

June 23rd, 1796. The French having occupied Ferrara and Bologna, Pope Pius VI made the Armistice of Feligno with Napoleon and promised to send 20,000,000 francs to France and many works of art.

(3) Mantua.

Although the way into Central and Southern Italy was open, Bonaparte wisely determined to complete the conquest of Lombardy and besieged Mantua, the capture of which would have facilitated the invasion of the Tyrol and a junction with the Army of the Rhine. Three attempts of the Austrians to relieve Mantua failed.

- a. August 6th, 1796. Wurmser, part of whose forces, under Quasdanovich, had been defeated at Lonato on August 3rd, was routed by Bonaparte at Castiglione, but succeeded in getting into Mantua.

[October, 1796. At the Congress of Modena, Bonaparte, contrary to the wishes of the Directors, formed Modena and the Papal states of Bologna and Ferrara into the Cispadane Republic. At the Congress of Modena "the idea of Italian unity and independence first awoke the enthusiasm of any considerable body of men."¹]

- b. November 16th, 1796. Bonaparte defeated Alvinci at Arcola; Alvinci retreated into the Tyrol.

[December, 1796. Owing to the refusal of the French to cede the Netherlands to Austria, Lord Malmesbury's peace negotiations failed.]

¹ Tyde.

(c) The campaign of 1797.

The success of the Archduke Charles¹ enabled the Austrians to send larger forces into Italy; in spite of the Armistice of Bologna, Pope Pius VI intrigued with the Austrians, who sent Alvinci to relieve Wurmser, who still held Mantua.

January 14th, 1797. Alvinci with his main body was routed by Napoleon at Rivoli.

January 16th, 1797. Ferrara, whom Alvinci had sent towards Mantua by the Adige valley, was routed by Bonaparte near Mantua.

February 2nd, 1797. Mantua capitulated to Bonaparte, who became master of Austrian Lombardy.

C. The Treaty of Tolentino, February, 1797.

Owing to the Pope's negotiations with Austria, Bonaparte marched against him.

February 19th, 1797. By the Treaty of Tolentino Pius VI agreed to pay immediately 30,000,000 and later 500,000,000 francs to the Directory; he ceded Bologna, Ferrara and the Romagna, which the French had conquered. Bonaparte, anxious to avoid a complete breach with the Papacy, granted more favourable terms than the Directory wished.

D. The Preliminaries of Leoben, 1797.

(1) The invasion of Austria.

Bonaparte was now safe from attack by the forces of the Pope and Sardinia; Naples was neutral; Lombardy had been secured, and his army had been raised to 70,000 by reinforcements from the Army of the Rhine under Bernadotte. He now decided to attack Austria through Friuli and hoped to secure the co-operation of Moscow, but though this hope was not realised his own forces proved adequate.

March 10th-16th, 1797. Bonaparte drove the Austrians northwards from the Piave, Tagliamento and Lanzo.

¹ Page 369.

Joubert entered the Tyrol and at Klagenfurt joined Bonaparte, who defeated the Archduke Charles at Neumark and Urmach.

(2) Bonaparte's difficulties.

A rising of the Tyrolese threatened Bonaparte's communications; the Venetians, who had refused to make an alliance with France and were annoyed at the heavy requisitions Bonaparte had made in their territory, and at the seizure of Bergamo by the French on December 22d, 1796, were gathering arms and negotiating with Austria; he feared that he would get no support from the Rhine, although actually Hache crossed the Rhine on April 18th. He therefore concluded with the Archduke Charles the Preliminaries of Leoben, August 17th, 1797.

a. Austria agreed that the Rhine should be the boundary of France, and thus ceded Belgium.

b. In Italy, Austria gave up Milan and was to receive Venice instead.

c. A Congress was to be held at Rastatt to make peace with the Empire.

Austria deserted her ally Great Britain and accepted the neutral territory of Venice to make up for her own losses.

III. The Treaty of Campo Formio, November, 1797.

A. The fall of Venice.

April 17th, 1797. Massacre at Verona of four hundred sick French soldiers—the Veronese Vespers.

April 21st, 1797. The Venetians first fired on a French gunboat which was trying to enter the Lido, from which foreign warships were excluded.

These actions were used by Bonaparte to excuse the French occupation of Venice.

May 16th, 1797. By the Treaty of Milan the Great

Council was abolished and a democratic republican council established; Venice was to pay six million francs in money and kind, twenty pictures and five hundred manuscripts.

June, 1797. With a Venetian fleet the French seized the Ionian Isles.

The power of Venice was broken; she lay at the mercy of Bonaparte.

B. The Italian Republic.

(1) The Ligurian Republic, June, 1797.

June 12th, 1797. Establishment of the Ligurian Republic in Genoa and the neighbourhood.

(2) The Cisalpine Republic, July, 1797.

July 9th, 1797. The Cisalpine Republic was established in Lombardy; the Capadane was united with it. Although French control was temporarily secured, another step had been taken towards the independence of Italy.

C. The Treaty of Campo Formio.

(1) Terms.

The Treaty followed the Preliminaries of Leoben.

Austria delayed making the Treaty in the hope that the Directory might be overthrown, but the *coup d'état* of 18 Fructidor made them come to terms.

October 17th, 1797. Austria recognised the Rhine as the boundary of France, thus ceding Belgium; acknowledged the independence of the Cisalpine Republic, which received Venetian territory between the Oglio and Adige, and thus gave up the Milanese; received Venice and Venetian territory in Istria and Dalmatia up to the Adige. The Stadtholder of Holland and the Duke of Modena were to have territorial compensation in Germany. A Congress was to be held at Rastadt to arrange terms between France and the Empire.

Secret clauses provided that Austria should evacuate the fortresses, including Mainz, which she held on the Rhine; that France should support the claim of Austria to Savoy and the Archbishopric of Salzburg.

(2) Criticism.

The Directors strongly objected to the grant of Venice to Austria; Bonaparte was responsible for this act of treachery.

Austria gained as much as she lost, and the loss of Belgium and the Milanese was counter-balanced by the gain of Venice and Dalmatia, which were nearer to Austria and enabled her to become one of the naval powers of the Mediterranean.

The Empire lost Trier, Mainz and the Palatinate. Austria had sacrificed the interests of Germany.

"The Revolution, which the German Princes had thought to put down by a military procession, had proved itself stronger than Europe. . . . But if the French Revolution had mastered Europe it had itself found a master in Bonaparte."¹

December 20th, 1797. The French entered Mainz.

The Italian campaign promoted the growth of a feeling of nationality in Italy and "asserted the ascendancy of military instincts over the democratic theories of the Revolution."

References:

- Revolutionary Europe* (Horne Stephens), Irvington, chap. vi.
Cambridge Modern History, Vol. VI, chap. xxvii.
History of the French Revolution (Mignet), G. Bell and Sons, chap. xiii.
The Life of Napoleon (Rass), Bell and Sons.

EGYPT, MAY, 1798 TO OCTOBER, 1799.

Bonaparte was placed in command of the "Army of England" in December, 1797; but the English navy rendered an attack

¹ *Modern Europe* (Dyer and Bassett), Vol. 7, page 266.

an England highly dangerous, and the Directory resolved to attack the English possessions in the East through Egypt. Bonaparte was dazzled by the East and had once thought of taking service with the Sultan of Turkey. The Ionian Isles might serve as a base against Egypt, and Bonaparte may have had some idea of overthrowing Turkey and attacking Austria from the East. He hoped to make himself master of France, but saw that "the hour is not ripe" and hoped that success in the East would strengthen his power. The Directors were glad to get rid of Bonaparte, who seemed dangerously powerful and in his recent campaigns had repeatedly disregarded their orders.

1. Bonaparte in Egypt.

Turkey belonged to Egypt, which was a friendly power. The invasion of Egypt was an act of piracy for which the approval of French merchants by the Mamelukes was inadequate justification.

May 19th, 1798. Bonaparte sailed from Toulon with 35,000 troops.

June 12th, 1798. Owing to the treachery of the Knights of St. John, Malta surrendered.

July 2nd, 1798. Bonaparte, having luckily avoided the English fleet, seized Alexandria, issued proclamations asserting his sympathy with Mohammedanism and his desire to crush the Mamelukes.

July 21st, 1798. Bonaparte completely routed the Mamelukes at the Battle of the Pyramids and entered Cairo on July 25th. He again defeated a Mameluke army at Salahiyyeh on August 11th and was master of Egypt.

August 1st and 2nd, 1798. Nelson destroyed the French fleet at the Battle of the Nile in Aboukir Bay and cut off Bonaparte and his army from France.

August 22nd, 1798. Bonaparte established the Institute of Egypt with departments of Mathematics, Physics, Political Economy and Literature.

Bonaparte's observance of Mohammedan rites failed to deceive the priests; heavy taxation irritated the people.

October 31st, 1798. A rising against the French at Cairo was cruelly suppressed.

II. Bonaparte's Syrian Campaign, February-May, 1799.

The Mamelukes, supported by Djennar, the Pasha of Acre, were threatening Egypt from El Arish. Turkey was now at war with France and was sending an army to reconquer Egypt. Bonaparte invaded Syria with an army of 15,000 men in order to protect Egypt and to prevent the British from using Syria as a base.

February 30th, 1799. The French took El Arish.

March 7th, 1799. Bonaparte captured Jaffa and shot in cold blood two thousand Turkish prisoners.

March 19th-May 21st, 1799. Siege of Acre. Valuable help was given by Sir Sidney Smith, who captured Bonaparte's siege artillery, bombarded the French from the sea and landed reinforcements to help the garrison. The withdrawal of the French was due to their heavy losses by plague and gunfire. In their retreat to Cairo they marched three hundred miles in twenty-six days.

III. Later Events in Egypt.

July 26th, 1799. Bonaparte routed a Turkish army at Aboukir and thus secured his hold on the country.

August 23rd, 1799. Bonaparte, learning of the difficulties that had arisen in Paris which gave him an opportunity of intervening to his own advantage, and of the need of defending the Consular Republic, sailed from Egypt, leaving Kléber in command. His departure, which the soldiers regarded as desertion, was justified by political conditions.

March, 1800. Kléber defeated the Turks and Mamelukes at Heliopolis.

June 14th, 1800. Kléber assassinated.

March 21st, 1801. Abercromby routed the French under Menou at Alexandria.

August 30th, 1801. The French capitulated at Cairo and agreed to evacuate Egypt, which was restored to the Sultan of Turkey.

IV. Results of the Egyptian Expedition.

The naval supremacy of Great Britain and the impossibility of subduing the Arabs of the Sudan made Bonaparte's plan of conquering Egypt impossible. But the expedition had important results.

A. It greatly increased Bonaparte's reputation.

Bonaparte's despatches told only of victory; the French regarded him as a successful "St. Louis crusading for the glory of France."

The glory of Napoleon's achievements, as related by himself, offered a striking contrast to the failure of the Directory, ensured for him an enthusiastic welcome on his return and was one of the causes of the Revolution of the 18 Brumaire (November 9th, 1799).

B. India and Turkey.

The appalling hardships endured by the French in the unsuccessful Syrian campaign showed that Bonaparte's hope to conquer Turkey and India through Egypt could not be realized.

C. Increased Colonial and Commercial activity.

The Egyptian expedition led France to give more attention to colonies and commerce; while the threat to British interests compelled Pitt to devote more attention to India and the Mediterranean and to form another coalition to keep France occupied in Europe. "The quarrel respecting predominance in the Netherlands—the chief cause of the war in 1793—was now superseded by the blow aimed at Britain's Eastern Empire."

D. Egypt.

Napoleon introduced into Egypt the methods of civilised government.

Cambridge Modern History, Vol. VIII, page 518.

The investigation of the monuments of Ancient Egypt by the scholars who accompanied Bonaparte's army, and the discovery by a French officer of the Rosetta stone, greatly stimulated the study of Egyptian history.

References:

- Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. VIII, chap. xix.
Life of Napoleon I (Rose), Bell and Sons.

NAVAL WARFARE

I. The French and British Navies in 1792.

A. The French Navy.

The French navy had been strengthened and re-organised under Louis XVI, but discipline had been impaired by revolutionary teaching; serious riots broke out in 1790 at Toulon, where the commander of the fleet was murdered, and Bruni.

The emigration of many of the best officers and the inefficiency of their successors, financial embarrassment which prevented the proper equipment of ships and dockyards, the ignorance of the revolutionary naval administrators and the abolition of the seamen gunners who were suspected of opposition to the Revolution, reduced the navy to a condition of anarchy and incompetence. "It was not a navy, but a congeries of ships and men that France placed at sea."¹

B. The British Navy.

The British navy had been strengthened in 1790 in view of possible war with Spain.² The addition of the Spanish, Portuguese, Dutch and Neapolitan navies gave the Allies three times as many ships as the French possessed, but the numerical superiority was largely discounted by lack of sympathy and unity of action between the Allies.

¹ *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. VIII, page 448.

² Page 328.

Serious discontent arose in the navy owing to resentment at the operations of the press-gang, poor food, inadequate pay and persistent flogging. But British officers were far superior to French: they included Hood, Duncan and Jervis among the seniors; Collingwood, Troubridge and, above all, Nelson among the juniors, and the British victories were due mainly to the professional skill of the officers.

Nelson taught the British to make the complete destruction of hostile fleets, and not prizes, their main object; he tried to effect this by concentrating superior numbers on one part of the enemy's line. He and Jervis allowed a large measure of independent initiative to their subordinates.

II. Naval Operations to the Treaty of Campo Formio, 1797.

Operations took place mainly in the Mediterranean and the Atlantic.

A. The Mediterranean.

(1) Toulon.

August 18th, 1793. Toulon surrendered to the Mediterranean fleet under Hood. But dissension arose between Hood and the Spanish Admiral Langara, who had joined him; the troops necessary to hold Toulon were not available; Hood failed to destroy or take away the whole of the French fleet which he had captured.

December 18th, 1793. The French retook Toulon, largely owing to Bonaparte's skilful direction of the artillery.

(2) Corsica.

August, 1794. Nelson captured Calvi, and Corsica surrendered.

(3) Admiral Hotham.

March, 1795. Hotham, through negligence, allowed the Toulon fleet to leave harbour safely and failed to

attack it in favourable conditions in July. Rothemann's inefficiency facilitated the conquest of Italy by Bonaparte, which led ultimately to his absolute power.

(4) *Treaty of San Ildefonso, August, 1796.*

August 16th, 1796. France and Spain made a treaty of alliance which practically renewed the Family Compact of 1763 and secured for France the help of Spain, which declared war on Great Britain on October 5th.

The Spanish navy threatened the British communications.

Jervis evacuated Corsica, and the British fleet left the Mediterranean and concentrated at Gibraltar. The French fleet at Toulon was no longer watched.

(5) *The Battle of St. Vincent, February, 1797.*

Britain was now threatened by the French, Spanish and Dutch fleets and gravely weakened by mutinies at Spithead and the Nore.

February 14th, 1797. Largely owing to the excellent work of Nelson in the *Captain*, Jervis defeated the Spanish fleet off Cape St. Vincent and thus prevented the junction of the French and Spanish fleets which were to cover an invasion of England, and encouraged the British to continue their opposition to France in spite of financial crisis, naval mutinies and the Treaty of Campo Formio.

B. The Atlantic.

(1) *Ushant.*

June 1st, 1794. Howe defeated the French fleet off Ushant, but failed to follow up his victory.

(2) *Quiberon, June, 1795.*

June 22nd, 1795. A British fleet defeated Villaret-Joyeuse and thus enabled the ill-fated émigrés to land at Quiberon.¹

¹ Page 374.

(3) Ireland and Wales.

June, 1794. The Directory, relying on the help of Spain and Holland and freed from danger from La Vendée, proposed to land in Ireland and Wales.

December, 1794. Bad weather prevented Hoche's expedition from landing in Bantry Bay.

- February 22nd, 1797. Submersion of a small French boat which had landed in Pembrokeshire.

(4) Camperdown, October, 1797.

October 11th, 1797. Duncan, who with only two ships had skillfully baffled the Dutch fleet in the Texel, routed the Dutch at Camperdown and thus prevented the union of the French and Dutch fleets.

C. General.

The British had evacuated the Mediterranean, but the victories of St. Vincent and Camperdown had averted possible invasion. Many British merchantmen had been captured by French privateers, 648 in 1797. But Great Britain had gained new colonies—Tobago in 1794, Guadaloupe and St. Lucia in 1796 from the French; Demerara in 1796 from the Dutch; Trinidad in 1797 from Spain; French maritime commerce was utterly destroyed; "grass grew in the streets of Havre . . . Marseilles was a city of the dead,"¹ and the financial condition of France was seriously weakened by the cost of her naval operations.

III. Naval Operations from 1797-1799.

A. The Mediterranean.

Fear of the British navy made the French renounce the idea of invading England.²

These years saw the re-establishment of British influence in the Mediterranean.

¹ Cambridge Modern History, Vol. VIII, page 414.

² Page 415.

(1) The Battle of the Nile.

May, 1798. Lord St. Vincent¹ sent Nelson with a small squadron to watch the French fleet in Toulon. After it sailed from Toulon, Nelson was sent in pursuit with a fleet of thirteen ships of the line and two smaller vessels. Partly owing to Nelson's lack of frigates he failed to catch the French fleet before its reached Egypt.

August 1st, 1798. In the Battle of the Nile, Nelson captured or destroyed thirteen out of the seventeen vessels that made up the French fleet. He thus saved India, shut up Bonaparte's army in Egypt, destroyed a third of the French navy and made Great Britain supreme in the Mediterranean. The Battle of the Nile was one of the main causes of the Second Coalition.²

November, 1798. The British captured Minorca.

(2) Naples.

June, 1799. Nelson's fleet secured the return to Naples of King Ferdinand IV and Queen Maria Caroline.³ Largely owing to his attitude Prince Caracciolo was hanged and many insurgents, who had surrendered on promise of immunity, were executed.

B. Ireland, 1798.

August 20th, 1798. Humbert's small force, conveyed from La Rochelle in three frigates, landed in Killala Bay to help the Irish rebels. It defeated the militia at "Castlesbar Races" on August 27th, but was compelled to surrender to General Lake and Cornwallis on September 24th.

References:

Cambridge Modern History, Vol. VIII, chaps. XV, XX.

¹ Jervis.

² Page 413.

³ A sister of Marie Antoinette.

THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE
DIRECTORY FROM THE TREATY OF
CAMPO FORMIO TO THE FORMATION OF
THE SECOND COALITION,
OCTOBER, 1797-JUNE, 1799

I. The Congress of Rastadt, December, 1797.

The terms of peace between France and Germany had nominally been referred by the Treaty of Campo Formio to a Congress to be held at Rastadt, although France, Germany and Austria had settled the question secretly beforehand.

A. The Rhenish Provinces.

The Congress confirmed the extension of French power over the left bank of the Rhine and the cession of the Rhenish provinces to France; French troops occupied Mainz on December 20th, and the Rhenish provinces were organized as four French departments.

Thus the Congress, which had been called "in unshaken fidelity to the great principle of the unity and indivisibility of the German Empire," began by violating the integrity of the Empire.

B. Secularization of the Ecclesiastical States.

The French claimed important positions on the right bank of the Rhine and laid siege to Ehrenbreitstein.

To compensate dispositions by prince the Congress resolved to secularize the Ecclesiastical States. Prussia, anxious to secure Münster and knowing that these states had usually supported Austria, supported the proposal; the Emperor, although by the secret clause of the Treaty of Campo Formio Austria was to receive the Archbishopric of Salzburg, objected as head of the Empire and as the supporter of Catholicism.

C. France and Prussia

It soon became clear that France was hoping for an alliance with Prussia and that she would not help Austria to get Bavaria as she had promised at Campo Formio. The enmity between Austria and Prussia was intensified, and in the struggle which followed with France Prussia remained neutral.

II. Switzerland, 1798.

On the petition of the Vaudois, who resented the rule of Bern, the French resolved to invade Switzerland, to establish a dependant republic and to secure the treasure of Bern. Carnot, now an exile from France, justly protested against "this impious war."

March, 1798. The French, under Brune, defeated the Bernese and occupied Bern. Seizure of the treasure, plunder of the people and of religious houses; 28,000,000 francs extorted from Switzerland.

April 18th, 1798. Establishment of the Helvetic Republic with a Directory and two Cantons. The towns generally acquiesced in the new order; the Forest-Cantons resisted.

September 9th, 1798. Defeat of the men of Unterwalden at Stans.

III. Italy.

A. Rome.

The Directory wished to secure the wealth of Rome to fill their treasury. The French ambassador, Joseph Bonaparte, secretly helped the revolutionary party and strong feeling had been aroused against the Pope by the Treaty of Tolentino.¹

December 18th, 1798. The murder of General Dughot gave France an excuse for intervening.

February 15th, 1799. An assembly of the people in

¹ Page 405.

the Forum re-established the Roman Republic and elected seven consuls. General Berthier entered Rome and acknowledged the Republic; the aged Pope Pius VI was ignominiously expelled and sent to Valence; with Berthier's sanction the Vatican, churches and city were plundered. A republican constitution, similar to that of Paris but retaining old classical titles, was established.

B. Piedmont.

Although Charles Emmanuel IV had remained faithful to the Treaty of Cessano,¹ the French determined to secure Piedmont, occupied Turin on July 2nd, 1798, and cruelly plundered the country.

December 14th, 1798. Charles Emmanuel abdicated and retired to Sardinia.

C. Naples.

Ferdinand of Naples, fearing that the victorious French would attack Naples, encouraged by the presence of Nelson, who had come to Naples after the Battle of the Nile, and had been induced by Lady Hamilton to support the King and Queen, determined to occupy Rome and restore the Pope. The Austrian Mack commanded the Neapolitan troops.

November 28th, 1798. Ferdinand entered Rome.

December 6th-13th, 1798. Mack defeated by Championnet; rising of the Neapolitan party in Rome; flight of Ferdinand from Rome.

December 31st, 1799. Flight of the Royal Family from Naples in Nelson's ship, the *Fanqueard*.

January 23rd, 1799. In spite of the heroic resistance of the peasants and labourers of Naples, Championnet entered Naples and proclaimed the Parthenopean Republic.

D. Tuscany.

March 22nd, 1799. The French occupy Tuscany and entered Florence.

¹ Page 406.

IV. The Causes of the Second Coalition.

The aggressions of France in Germany, Switzerland, Rome, Piedmont and Naples alarmed Europe and aroused strong resentment in the new republics; but circumstances prevented Pitt from completing the Second Coalition until the beginning of 1799.

A. Great Britain.

In the beginning of 1793 Britain, the steady enemy of France, was weakened by financial crisis, the withdrawal of the British fleet from the Mediterranean, following the union of France and Spain in 1792,¹ rebellion in Ireland and the danger of a French invasion. But Lord Malmesbury's attempt to make peace failed in December, 1793, and the decision of the Directory to exclude British goods from all lands under French authority made the country resolve to continue the war.

B. Austria.

(5) Thugot determined to renew the war.

Thugot saw by the end of 1797 that France was determined to extend her territory in Germany and to prevent the Austrians from extending theirs in Italy; he resented the understanding between Prussia and France and the unwillingness of France to carry out the promise she had made at Campo Formio to allow Austria to annex part of Bavaria. He was determined to renew the war, but various causes delayed Austrian intervention.

(2) Causes of delay.

- a. May 1st, 1798. Cobenzl, less skilful of war, succeeded Thugot as Foreign Minister for a few months.
- b. October, 1798. Austria would have declared war on France owing to the invasion of Switzerland

¹ Page 411.

but for her fear of Prussia, whose King, Frederick William III, failed to realise his duty to protect Germany and was determined to remain neutral.

- c. The Austrians resented the withdrawal of the British fleet from the Mediterranean in November, 1796, and a dispute arose about the repayment of a loan made by Great Britain to Austria.

(2) *Final causes of war.*

The French attack on Ehrenbreitstein; the growing hostility of the Czar Paul to France; the determined opposition of Great Britain to France, and particularly the despatch of a British fleet to the Mediterranean in April and the Battle of the Nile on August 1st, 1798; the overthrow of the royal families of Sardinia and Naples, were among the causes which led to the actual outbreak of war between Austria and France on March 1st, 1799, and the formal declaration of war by Austria on March 12th, 1799.

[April 29th, 1799. Murder of the French envoys at Rastatt.]

C. Russia.

Paul I succeeded his mother Catherine II on November 17th, 1796. Catherine had refused to go to war with France, "she pronounced sentence on the Revolution, but left it to others to execute"; Paul, though opposed to the extension of Republican doctrines, which might cause trouble in Poland, hesitated to take up arms against France, and his hesitation partly accounts for the slowness of Austria, which counted on the help of Russia, in declaring war against France.

Paul was Protector of the Order of Malta and strongly resented the capture of Malta by Bonaparte. He was encouraged by the Battle of the Nile and sent a fleet to

co-operate with the British and Portuguese in the Mediterranean; he made an alliance with Naples and with Turkey, which desired to regain Egypt.

December 29th, 1798. By the Treaty of St. Petersburg an alliance was made between Great Britain and Russia, but Frederick William's determined neutrality prevented Prussia from joining the alliance.

D. Naples.

December 4th, 1798. France declared war on Naples.

E. Portugal.

Portugal, the traditional ally of England, joined the Coalition.

By the beginning of 1799 Pitt's policy had succeeded in forming against France the Second Coalition of Great Britain, Austria, Russia, Naples and Portugal.

References:

Cambridge Modern History, Vol. VIII, chap. XII.

History of the French Revolution (Mignet), G. Bell and Sons, chap. XIII.

THE WAR OF THE SECOND COALITION

I. The Campaigns of 1799.

At the beginning of the campaign the French armies were smaller in number than the Austrians; Bonaparte was in Egypt, and the French generals concerned found worthy opponents in the Archduke Charles and Bervicoff; there was a lack of the strong central control which Carnot had once exercised. But the possession of Northern Italy up to the Adige and the occupation of Switzerland greatly strengthened the French position.

The French plan of campaign involved a triple attack on Austria. Jourdan, commanding the Army of the

Rhine, was to advance along the Danube and drive the Archduke Charles into Vienna; Massena, commanding the Army of Helvetia, was to expel the Austrians from the Grisons and to invade the Tyrol; Schiner, commanding the Army of Italy, was to drive the Austrians from the Adige.

A. Germany.

March 28th, 1799. The Archduke Charles routed Jourdan at Stockach, but did not prevent him from retreating safely through the Black Forest and crossing the Rhine.

B. Italy.

(1) Magnano.

Schiner, having sent some of his troops to Tuscany, wished to attack the Austrians before the Russians arrived.

April 5th, 1799. Schiner routed by the Austrians at Magnano.

(2) Cassano.

April 17th, 1799. Suvoroff, who had reached Italy a fortnight previously, routed Moreau, who had replaced Schiner, at Cassano and entered Milan on April 25th and Turin a month later.

(3) Trebbia.

June 17th-18th, 1799. Suvoroff utterly routed Macdonald and the French army from Naples on the Trebbia. Retreat of Macdonald to Marengo at Genoa.

(4) Novi.

August 15th, 1799. Joubert, who succeeded Moreau, advancing from Genoa to raise the siege of Mantua, was completely defeated and slain at Novi by Suvoroff, who was strengthened by the Allied army set free by the fall of Mantua which had actually surrendered on July 30th. This victory saved Piedmont from the French.

(2) Genoa.

November 6th, 1799. The Austrians, under Melas, defeated a new army under Championnet at Genoa and drove it back to France.

These victories resulted in the overthrow of the Cisalpine, Roman and Parthenopæan Republics and the restoration of Ferdinand to Naples.¹

C. Dissension among the Allies.

Dissension among the Allies robbed them of the advantage of these victories and prevented an invasion of France which Suvoroff strongly advocated and which might have ended the war.

(1) Austria.

The Austrians wished to secure Piedmont and Savoy; regarded the Russians as an auxiliary corps and expected Suvoroff to take orders from Vienna; they insisted on reducing all unoccupied fortresses before invading France.

(2) Russia.

The Czar Paul wished to overthrow the Revolution; to restore the monarchies the French had overthrown and, in particular, to restore Charles Emmanuel to Savoy; to invade France at once.

D. The Allies' new plan of campaign.

Suvoroff was to unite with the Archduke Charles to drive Massena out of Switzerland and then to invade France; the British and Russians were to invade Holland.

Austria, fearing that the success of the Allies in Holland might lead to the grant of land on the Lower Rhine to Prussia, repeated her old claims to the Netherlands and weakened Suvoroff by sending the Archduke Charles to besiege Philippsburg and Mainz on the Middle Rhine, whence he could watch the progress of affairs in the Netherlands.

¹ Page 414, A 2.

(1) Switzerland.

September 18th, 1799. Massena routed Korsakoff at Zurich. Suvoroff by a masterly retreat withdrew his army from Switzerland. Massena was then enabled to threaten the flank of the Archduke Charles, who retired from the Rhine to the Danube.

(2) Holland.

August, 1799. A British force under Abercromby took Halder and the Dutch fleet in the Texel.

September 18th, 1799. An allied force of British and Russians under the Duke of York gained a success at Alkmaar, but differences between the two allies, military difficulties caused by the dykes and the incompetence of the Duke of York, who was defeated at Bergen, caused the failure of the attempt.

October 18th, 1799. The Duke of York made the Convention of Alkmaar, gave up his prisoners and evacuated Holland.

K. General results.

(1) France.

France had maintained her position except in Italy owing to the delay of the Allies in starting the war; to the selfishness of Austria, who sought new territory in Italy, and of Russia, who wished to secure Malta and the Ionian Isles and refused to blockade Egypt, as Nelson desired; to the neutrality of Prussia.

France had lost Italy, except Genoa, which the Allies were besieging, but kept Switzerland, Holland and the left bank of the Rhine.

(2) Austria.

Austria practically held Italy, including Piedmont; serious differences had arisen with Russia.

(3) Russia.

The Czar Paul resented the way the Austrians had treated Suvoroff, and the attempt of Austria to use

her Russian ally to secure territory in Italy. It was angry with Great Britain, whom he blamed for the failure of the expedition to Holland.

(4) Great Britain.

The Battle of the Nile and the capture of the Dutch fleet were some compensation for the failure in Holland.

II. The Campaign of 1800.

October 9th, 1799. Bonaparte landed at Fréjus.

November 9th, 1799. Coup d'état of Brumaire.

Bonaparte, now First Consul, took charge of foreign affairs. He won over the *Chœur Pail* by a promise of Malta and directed his main efforts against Austria.

A. Marengo.

(1) Moscow in Germany.

April, 1800. Moreau crossed the Rhine, defeated Kray in five battles in the Black Forest and drove him back to Ulm. Then Moreau prevented the Austrians from sending reinforcements to Italy.

(2) Genoa.

June 4th, 1800. Massena, after a heroic defence, surrendered to Ott. But Massena had prevented Ott from joining Melas and so contributed to Bonaparte's great victory.

(3) Marengo.

Bonaparte, instead of striking at Genoa, determined to enter Lombardy and attack Melas from the rear. He made a great march across the Coast St. Bernard Pass.

June 18th, 1800. The timely return of Desaix's troops enabled Bonaparte to turn impending defeat into the great victory of Marengo. By the Convention of Alessandria Melas gave up Genoa, Piedmont and the Milanese to France and retired behind the Mincio. At Marengo Bonaparte "reconquered Italy in one day."

B. Hohenlinden.

(1) Treaty between Austria and Great Britain.

June 26th, 1800. Owing to the influence of Thugot Austria made a treaty with Great Britain and agreed, in return for new subsidies and part of Piedmont, to continue the war until February, 1801.

[September 5th, 1800. The British took Malta.]

(2) Hohenlinden.

Morocco's operations were stopped by an armistice on July 15th, 1800. He resumed hostilities in November.

December 2nd, 1800. Morozan utterly routed the Austrians at Hohenlinden and pushed on towards Vienna.

December 15th, 1800. To save Vienna the Emperor Francis II made an armistice with Morozan.

C. Further French successes in Italy.

November, 1800. Bruna crossed the Mincio and Adige and took Verona and Treviso.

December, 1800. A French army under Macdonald avoided the Tyrol and took Trent.

The combined armies of Bruna and Macdonald marched towards Vienna.

III. The Isolation of Great Britain, 1801.

During 1801 Great Britain alone continued the struggle against France. Her navy continued serious trouble, especially by blockading Brest; her army defeated the French in Egypt.¹ Bonaparte, realising the importance of crippling British trade, now tried to exclude British ships from European harbours. The signature of Pitt on March 14th, 1801, and of Thugot removed the most active of the war ministers.

¹ Page 493.

A. The Peace of Lunéville, February 9th, 1801.

(1) Terms.

Austria ceded to France all territory west of the Rhine, including Belgium and Luxembourg, and recognised the independence of the Cisalpine, Ligurian, Batavian and Helvetic Republics; the Adige was to be the boundary of French and Austrian possessions in Northern Italy; the young Duke of Parma, who had married a daughter of Charles IV of Spain, was to have Tuscany, which was to become the Kingdom of Etruria; the dispossessed Duke of Tuscany and the German princes were to have such compensation in Germany as France thought necessary.

(2) Criticism.

The Treaty, in which the Diet of the Empire had no voice, broke up the Holy Roman Empire and placed the minor states of Germany at the mercy of France. Austria, which kept Venice, had sacrificed the interests of Germany. The Treaty led to the retirement of Thugot and was described as "terrible" by Cabanis.

B. Spain.

March 21st, 1801. By the Treaty of Madrid Spain, which had recently invaded Portugal at Bonaparte's command, ceded Louisiana to France in return for the promise that the Duke of Parma, son-in-law of Charles IV of Spain, should become King of Etruria.

August 2nd, 1801. The Duke of Parma proclaimed King of Etruria.

C. The Treaty of Florence.

March 26th, 1801. Ferdinand IV of Naples, who had not been a party to the Peace of Lunéville, made terms with France. He was allowed, owing to the intervention of the *Quar Pacé*, to retain his throne, but ceded Elbe to France and promised to allow no British ships to enter his ports.

D. The Treaty of Badajoz.

British goods exported to Portugal were carried into Spain and France.

The Prince Regent of Portugal rejected Bonaparte's demands that he should close his ports to British shipping, give special privileges to French merchants and cede territory to Spain until that country should recover Trinidad and Minorca.

June 6th, 1803. Owing to the defeat of Portugal by Spain, the Regent, by the Treaty of Badajoz, ceded Olivença to Spain and part of Portuguese Guinea to France, and agreed to close his ports to British shipping.

E. The Armed Neutrality of the North.

(1) Causes.

a. The right of search.

Owing to the war, the British Government had ordered the seizure of neutral vessels carrying provisions or naval stores, whatever their destination.

Old complaints as to the manner in which Great Britain had exercised the right of searching neutrals for contraband of war were repeated by the Northern Maritime Powers.

b. The Case Paul.

Paul blamed Great Britain for the failure of the expedition to Holland; strongly resented the blockade of Malta by the British and their refusal to recognize his authority over the island; Bonaparte, whose personality made a strong impression on Paul, now released several thousand Russian prisoners and recognized Paul's claim to the guardianship of Malta. Paul, who had practically withdrawn from the Coalition, now became the friend of France.

November 7th, 1803. Paul seized all British ships in Russian ports.

December 12th, 1800. Paul, partly at the instigation of Bonaparte, revived the Armed Neutrality of 1793,¹ and Russia, Sweden and Denmark, soon joined by Prussia, undertook to resist by force any attempt of Britain to interfere with their trade.

January 14th, 1801. An embargo was placed on all Russian, Danish and Swedish vessels in British ports.

(3) The Dissolution of the Armed Neutrality.

a. The renunciation of Paul.

March 23rd, 1801. Assassination of Paul.

b. Copenhagen.

April 2nd, 1801. Nelson, who put his telescope to his blind eye and so "could not see" the signal to cease firing given by Admiral Sir Hyde Parker, destroyed the Danish fleet at Copenhagen.

a. Peace between Great Britain and Russia.

Alexander I, anxious to protect Russian commerce, made peace in June with Britain, which agreed that blockades to be respected must be effective, and promised that fax, hemp and timber should not be regarded as contraband of war.

Thus Bonaparte's attempt to ruin British trade in the Baltic had failed.

IV. The Peace of Amiens, 1802.

Both France and Britain were ready for peace. Great Britain had checked Bonaparte's designs on Ireland, Egypt and India. The British navy had been successful and commerce had increased sixty per cent since 1793. But the National Debt had doubled, wheat had risen to 120 shillings a quarter and the poor lacked bread. The

¹ Page 166.

French were discouraged by their failure in Egypt, the break up of the Armed Neutrality and the loss of colonies; there was discontent in Holland, Switzerland and Piedmont, and difficulties had arisen in Germany regarding the compensation for dispossessed Italian princes. Nine "years of warfare had left France unquiescent in Western Europe and Britain its conqueror of every man."¹

March 25th, 1802. The Peace of Amiens.

A. Terms.

- (1) Great Britain should keep Ceylon and Trinidad, but restore their other colonies to France, Spain and Holland.
- (2) Malta should be restored to the Knights of St. John.
- (3) France to evacuate Naples and the Papal States and to restore all its territory to Portugal.
- (4) Egypt to revert to Turkey.
- (5) The Ionian Islands were recognised as a republic.

B. Criticisms.

The Peace, though generally popular, was disadvantageous for Britain, which after a most costly war lasting nine years gained only Ceylon and Trinidad. "A peace which all men are glad of, but no man can be proud of" (Sheridan). But Britain welcomed the reduction of taxation which would follow the Peace, which would render unnecessary the maintenance in England of large forces to resist a possible invasion.

France was tired of war, and, although Great Britain did not formally recognise the Batavian, Helvetic and Cisalpine republics, her influence had been strengthened by the successes of Britain at her recent annexations.

But too many causes of dispute were left unsettled: the ambition of Bonaparte was sure to lead to further aggression. The Peace of Amiens proved only a truce in the struggle between Great Britain and France.

¹ Fyfe.

References:

- Revolutionary Europe* (Morse Stephens), chap. vii.
Cambridge Modern History, Vol. VIII, chap. xxi; Vol. IX
 chaps. ii, iii.
History of the French Revolution (Mignet), G. Bell and Sons,
 chap. xiv.
Life of Napoleon I (Ross), G. Bell and Sons.

THE RESULTS OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

The results of the French Revolution were so important that the Revolution is rightly regarded as the most important event in the history of Modern Europe.

I. The Assertion of Nationality.

The principle of Nationality involved the idea that states owed their unity not to subjection to their ruler, but to community of blood, language, tradition and aspirations.

A. France.

In France prior to the Revolution the loyalty of the nobles and the love the people felt for the King had taken the place of patriotism.¹ The Revolution substituted the idea of the French nation for that of the French kingdom. The Flight to Varennes in June, 1791, showed that the interests of the King and nation were not identical and led to the rise of the Republican party; the declaration of the Assembly on June 11th, 1793, that "the Fatherland is in danger" led to an outbreak of national feeling which inspired France to resist her enemies. The feeling was strengthened by the abolition of the provinces and by the establishment of a uniform code of laws.

¹ Lavisse.

B. Other nations.

The aggression of France provoked a feeling of nationality in other countries. In Italy resentment against the tyranny of Napoleon started the idea of Italian unity and independence at the Congress of Modena in October, 1796. National feeling prompted the Spaniards, Portuguese and, in 1812, Russians to oppose Napoleon and supplied the inspiration for the revival of Prussia. Spain showed that "a whole people is more powerful than disciplined armies."

C. Reaction.

The Congress of Vienna was marked by a reaction against nationality,¹ and the Holy Alliance, by asserting the common interests of the monarchs concerned, advocated the contrary principle of "internationality."² The history of Europe in the nineteenth century is largely a history of national development, particularly in Italy, but within recent years the question has been affected by the development of Pan-Germanism and Pan-Slavism and by the idea that the interests of labour may be international and not purely national.

II. The Sovereignty of the People.

The Declaration of Rights asserted "that the principle of all sovereignty resides in the people" and "the law is the expression of the general will."

A. Reform by the People.

The need of improving the condition of the people had been recognised in Europe before the Revolution. Benevolent despots like Catherine of Russia and the Emperor Joseph II had tried to rule for the benefit of their subjects; even Spain had limited the power of the Inquisition, and Napoleon had tried to establish a

¹ Page 383.

² *Ibidem*.

system of popular education. The Revolution asserted that the people should rule themselves and that government should be not only "for the people," but "by the people."

B. The new idea of Sovereignty.

This new principle involved the idea that sovereignty is not a property of which the monarch enjoys the profits, but a magistracy established for the performance of certain duties.

C. The French Middle Class.

The assertion of the doctrine of the Sovereignty of the People was rendered possible in France by the existence of a prosperous and intelligent middle class who were greatly interested in the teaching of the Philosophers¹ and strongly influenced by the popular government of England and America.

D. Reaction.

In France the Revolution had swept away the old abuses and laid the foundation of a sound social system. It had not given the people the power of self-government, and it led immediately to the absolute rule of Napoleon.

The reaction against the Revolution retarded the reformation of the English Parliaments, made Pitt a Tory and led to Bishop Hurd's assertion that the people had nothing to do with the laws except to obey them. In some states, particularly in Austria and Naples, the reaction was more marked than in England.

But the movement was only checked and not stopped, and it ultimately resulted in the development of parliamentary and local government, particularly in England and France.

III. The Assertion of Individual Liberty.

The Revolution asserted that all men are equal before the law and swept away the old privileges, rigid class distinctions and religious disabilities which had limited the freedom of the individual. Serfdom, old feudal restrictions and the limitations imposed by the guilds were abolished; religious toleration was assured, even for Jews; the freedom of the press was established and the right of the individual to education was maintained. In her *Vindication of the Rights of Women*, 1792, Mary Wollstonecraft asserted that women should enjoy equal rights with men.

The Assertion of Individual Liberty was the leading principle of the Liberals of the nineteenth century.

IV. Other Effects.

A. Humanitarianism.

The opposition to the slave trade and the attempts to reform the conditions of prisons and to improve the condition of the people illustrate the attention given to humanitarianism by the Revolution.

B. The Romantic Revival.

The Revolution helped the Romantic Revival by the assertion of individualism, the defiance of tradition and the "establishment of human life on a basis of pure feeling." Wordsworth's *Prelude*, Goethe's *Joan of Arc*, Coleridge's earlier works, Shelley's *Mask of Anarchy*, Goethe's *Faust*, Victor Hugo's *Les Misérables* owe much to the principles of the Revolution.

C. The revival of Papal authority.

Largely owing to the fertility of Pius VII the influence of the Roman Catholic Church was strengthened. Christened's *Office de Christianisme* asserted the cause of Christianity against atheism; de Maitre's *De Pope* vindicated the authority of the Pope.

D. Socialism.

Attacks on property, and particularly the confiscation of the estates of the French Royalty, weakened the idea that property was sacred; "Socialism ceased to be merely a speculative doctrine and became a political programme."

Reference :

Cambridge Modern History, Vol. VIII, chap. XXV.

THE THIRD COALITION

I. The Settlement of Germany.

The Treaty of Lunéville had provided that the settlement of Germany was to be made "in conjunction with the French Government."

France used her victory over Austria to secure such a reorganisation of Germany as would further strengthen French influence. The lesser princes looked to her for support against Austria; Prussia remained neutral. The policy of France was facilitated by the continued rivalry between Prussia and Austria, the enmity between Bavaria and Austria, the desire of the lay princes to secure ecclesiastical territory and the utter lack of national feeling in Germany.

Alexander of Russia, anxious to promote the interests of his relatives the Princes of Bavaria, Baden and Württemberg, made an alliance with France on October 15th, 1806, and thus prevented the effective resistance of Austria to Bonaparte's plans. The settlement of Germany was practically made during May and June, 1806, by secret negotiations carried on in Paris between France, Prussia, Russia, Baden and Württemberg.

A. The Diet of Ratisbon.

February 25th, 1806. The Diet of Ratisbon accepted the French plans for the reorganisation of Germany. That reorganisation was profoundly affected by the secularisation of the Ecclesiastical States and the abolition of most of the Free Cities.

(1) Constitutional changes.

Hitherto the Diet had consisted of the three Colleges

of Electors, Princes and Free Cities; the administration had been carried out by ten Circles; the Imperial Chamber had been the ultimate Court of Justice.

a. The College of Electors.

The College was to consist of nine lay and one ecclesiastical electors, the Archbishop of Mainz, instead of three ecclesiastical and five lay electors, as formerly. The lay electors were those of Bohemia, Brandenburg, Saxony, Bavaria and Hanover, and four new ones, Baden, Würtemberg, Hesse-Cassel and Salzburg. The last was given to the Emperor's brother Ferdinand, who had been forced to give up Tuscany.¹

b. The College of Princes.

The College of Princes became a purely lay assembly.

c. The College of Free Cities.

Forty-five Free Cities were abolished; only Augsburg, Bremen, Frankfurt, Hamburg, Lübeck and Nuremberg retained their old status, and the College of Free Cities disappeared.

(2) Territorial readjustments.

a. Prussia.

Prussia received, in exchange for Cleves and other territory on the west bank of the Rhine, the bishoprics of Münster, Paderborn and Erfurt; several abbey, including Quedlinburg and Essen, and some free cities. She surrendered forty-eight square miles and received two hundred and twenty-one with a population of half a million.

b. Hanover.

Hanover received the Bishopric of Osnabrück.

¹ Page 428.

c. Bavaria.

Bavaria received, in exchange for the Palatinate and Zweibrücken, the bishoprics of Würzburg, Bamberg, Augsburg, Freisingen; Jülich, Simmern and Lüttich and many abbeys and free cities. Bavaria gave up two hundred and twenty square miles and received two hundred and sixty-eight.

d. Baden.

Baden received three parts of the bishoprics of Speyer, Strasbourg and Basle which lay on the right bank of the Rhine; the bishoprics of Constance; the towns of Heidelberg and Mannheim and many abbeys and free cities. The Prince of Baden received six times as much territory as he surrendered, and his revenues were doubled.

e. Württemberg.

Württemberg gave up Montbéliard, but received compensation which added a hundred thousand to its population.

f. The Prince of Orange and the Italian Duke.

The Prince of Orange, who renounced his claim to the Stadtholderate of Holland, received the bishoprics of Fulda and Cambray and the town of Dortmund.

The Duke of Parma received the archbishopric of Salzburg.

The Duke of Modena received the Bishopric.

B. *Catholicism.*(1) *Austria.*

The influence of Austria, which received only the bishoprics of Trent and Brixen, was greatly weakened by the suppression of the Ecclesiastical States, which had tended to support her as the champion of Catholicism; by the establishment of a Protestant majority

of twenty votes in the Diet; by the practical overthrow of the Holy Roman Empire, which was pronounced by Francis II on August 6th, 1806.

(3) France.

France became much more powerful. But her attempt to extend her authority in the South of Germany was frustrated by Bonaparte; she remained the leading state in the North, but did not secure the leadership of Germany, which Austria had vainly tried to assume.

(3) Germany.

The chief lay princes were greatly strengthened and Germany profited much by the change which substituted for the inefficient government of the Ecclesiastical States and Free Cities a more orderly system of taxation, police and justice.

The dismemberment of the lesser princes added materially to the concentration of Germany, and "another stage on the road towards a united Germany was accomplished."

"The epoch of it all was that the Germany of the Middle Ages, with its Ecclesiastical States, its orders of Knighthood and the preponderance of the Hapsburgs, vanished, never to return."

(4) France.

The territorial compensation necessitated by the extension of France to the Rhine was carried into effect. French influence was greatly strengthened in Germany, and Bonaparte became the patron of the princes. But ultimately the new system proved "most prejudicial to France; for instead of there existing a series of buffers in the shape of small and weak states, France was brought almost directly into contact with Prussia and Austria."²

¹ *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. IX, page 84.

² *House of Commons*, page 225.

II. Continued Aggression of Bonaparte.

By the Peace of Lunéville the independence of the Gascon, Batavian and Helvetic Republics had been recognised; Bonaparte promised the Czar Alexander that Provence should be restored to the House of Savoy. He now breaks all these undertakings.

A. Holland.

September, 1801. The Batavian Republic received a new constitution which practically made it subject to France.

B. The Gascon Republic.

January, 1802. Bonaparte became President of the Gascon Republic and thus master of Lombardy. The Republic henceforth was called the Italian Republic.

C. Genoa, Elba, Piedmont, Parma.

June 14th, 1802, the reorganisation of the Government of Genoa made the city subservient to Bonaparte.

August 25th, 1802. Bonaparte annexed Elba.

September 11st, 1802. Bonaparte incorporated Piedmont in the French Republic.

October 2nd, 1802. On the death of Duke Louis, King of Etruria, Bonaparte took possession of Parma.

D. Switzerland.

Civil war broke out between the towns and the Forest Cantons, supported by Bern. Bonaparte intervened as "Mediator of the Helvetic League," and in February, 1803, established a new constitution which weakened the federal government, gave considerable authority to each of the nineteen cantons and ensured the supremacy of France.

E. Colonial policy.

Knowing that war was sure to break out soon with Great Britain, Bonaparte strengthened his navy and endeavoured to add to the French colonial empire.

(1) *San Domingo.*

May, 1803. Ducloux recovered San Domingo from Toussaint L'Ouverture.

(2) *Egypt.*

Naparte sent Sebastiani to investigate the prospects of French intervention in the Levant.

January 30th, 1803. Sebastiani's report, which appeared in the *Messenger*, urged the French to reconquer Egypt.

III. Causes of the War between France and Great Britain.

War was inevitable. "We now see that national enmity, fostered by the press on both sides, rendered friendly relations impossible, and that, even had Bonaparte been willing to refrain from aggressions, peace was impossible."¹

A. British complaints.

Napoleon's aggressive policy and his election on August 2nd, 1802, as First Consul for life, aroused grave suspicions that the power he had gained would be used against Great Britain. Definite complaints were made of

- (1) Bonaparte's attempt in 1803 to stir up discontent in Ireland.
- (2) His refusal to make a commercial treaty with Great Britain, and the restrictions he imposed on British trade in Spain, Holland and Italy.
- (3) The virulent attacks made on British statisticians in the *Messenger*.
- (4) The presence of French spies in British ports.

B. Bonaparte's complaints.

Bonaparte's attitude is partly explained by the

¹ Political History of England. (Shedrick) Longmans, page 11.

contempt he felt for the weakness of Addington who had succeeded Pitt as Prime Minister on March 22d, 1801. He complained that

- (1) Great Britain had violated the Peace of Amiens
 - (a) By failing to surrender Alexandria and the French towns in India. This complaint was just.
 - (b) By refusing to surrender Malta.

Bonaparte specially complained of the refusal of the British to surrender Malta, and, in his famous interview with Whitworth, the British Ambassador, on March 12th, 1803, asserted, "The English are bent on war . . . they do not respect treaties."

Technically Great Britain could plead that the refusal of the Czar Alexander to guarantee the independence of Malta justified her retention of the island. Practically Malta was kept as a means of guarding against Bonaparte's schemes in the Levant and Egypt, and as a compensation for the recent additions to French territory.

- (2) Great Britain had sheltered French despots.
- (3) The English newspapers had attacked Bonaparte who was particularly annoyed at the violence with which Jean Pétion, an *despot*, attacked him in *L'Antique* published in London.

February, 1803. Pétion, convicted on the suit of the French ambassador of gross libel on Bonaparte, was sentenced by the Court of King's Bench only to pay a small fine—which was delayed by public subscription.

C. Great Britain declares war.

Bonaparte refused a British ultimatum demanding that the French should evacuate Holland and Switzerland, indemnify the King of Sardinia and allow Great Britain to hold Malta for ten years.

May 18th, 1803. Great Britain declared war on France. Bonaparte imprisoned all British subjects in France.

Great Britain had no allies. France remained strictly neutral, Austria was exhausted, Holland was subject to France, the Czar Alexander was friendly to Bonaparte although aware that Russian trade depended largely upon the connection with Britain. Spain had strongly resented the sale by Bonaparte to the United States of Louisiana, over which she had a right of pre-emption, but made an agreement on October 18th, 1803, by which, while refraining from actual warfare, she paid France six million francs a month during the war. Lack of continental allies made the British limit their operations to the defence of England, the seizure of colonies and the blockade of French ports.

The two previous wars had been waged to overthrow the Republic and to restore the Monarchy in France. Great Britain was now fighting not only for herself but for Europe, for Bonaparte now aimed at subjugating Europe to France and at crushing nationality.

D. Early operations.

The strong feeling in favour of the war led to the enrolment of 200,000 volunteers in England in three months.

(1) The Colonies.

1803. The British took St. Lucia and Tobago in June; Guiana, from the Dutch, in September.

1803. Wellesley defeated the Marathas at Assaye on September 23rd and Argaum on November 18th and thus prevented successful French interference in India.

(2) Ireland.

July, 1803. Suppression of Emmett's rebellion, instigated by French agents.

(3) The "Army of England," 1804.

Napoleon established an army of 250,000 men at Boulogne, intending to carry them to England in a fleet of transports under the cover of Villeneuve's fleet. The scheme was bound to fail. Napoleon underestimated the power of Great Britain; the conjunction of wind and tide necessary for successful transport was most improbable; the British navy, recently strengthened, proved too strong and, even if great good fortune had enabled French forces to "force the wet ditch of the Channel," it would have cut off their retreat.

(4) Hanover.

Napoleon resolved to seize Hanover, which belonged to the British Crown, partly to force Prussia into alliance, partly for the plunder it would supply, partly as a means of bargaining with Great Britain when peace was made. Prussia, the leader of Northern Germany, ought to have resisted the occupation of Hanover as it was a breach of the neutrality of the North German states which had been guaranteed by the Treaty of Basle.¹ But Frederick William III refused to seize Hanover, as Hegewitz recommended, and failed to avert the French invasion by diplomacy.

May, 1801. The French, under Murat, entered Hanover. They held it for two years. French oppression aroused strong resentment in Hanover.

(5) The Elbe.

The French seized Cuxhaven to stop British trade. The British therefore blockaded the mouth of the Elbe and Weser and did much harm to German, and especially Prussian, trade.

The failure of Prussia to stop these operations showed that her pretended neutrality could not avert injury.

¹ Page 296.

(5) Naples.

1803. Bonaparte seized Naples in order to keep British shipping out of Neapolitan ports.

(7) Spain.

December 18th, 1804. Spain declared war on Great Britain which had seized Spanish treasure ships to escape debts due to English merchants.

IV. The Formation of the Third Coalition.

A. The Execution of the Duc d'Angoulême, March, 1804.

February, 1804. Failure of a plot made by the Cheval¹ Georges Cadoudal and General Pichegru to murder Bonaparte and restore the Comte d'Artois.²

March 21st, 1804. Execution at Paris on a false charge of complicity in Pichegru's plot of the Duc d'Angoulême, who had been kidnapped by French soldiers in the neutral territory of Baden. One of Bonaparte's greatest political mistakes.

[May 18th, 1804. Bonaparte assumed the title of Emperor of the French—Napoleon I.

August, 1804. Francis II³ proclaimed himself Emperor of Austria.]

B. Pitt leaves the Third Coalition.

Pitt replaced Addington as Prime Minister on May 10th, 1804. His aim of uniting Europe against France was facilitated by the horror caused by the murder of the Duc d'Angoulême. Pitt wished to compel France to surrender the countries she had conquered, to form barrier states to prevent future aggression by France, to summon a European convention to ensure peace and security for the future.

(1) Russia.

Alexander I viewed with strong disapprobation the growing power and aggressive policy of Napoleon. He protested against the occupation of Hanover, the

¹ Page 178.

² Chapter I, 1804-1809.

³ As Holy Roman Emperor he was Francis II, as Emperor of Austria Francis I.

death of the Duc d'Angoulême whom he declared to have "been cruelly murdered by the Corsican brutes," and the violation of the territory of Baden.

September, 1804. Alexander broke off diplomatic negotiations with France, but difficulties arising owing to the British retention of Malta hampered his negotiations with Pitt.

April 11th, 1804. A Treaty of Alliance was made at St. Petersburg between Great Britain and Russia to compel the French to withdraw from Hanover, North Germany and Italy; to ensure the independence of Holland, Switzerland and Naples; to restore the King of Sardinia to Piedmont and to raise an army of half a million men to oppose France. Britain agreed to subsidise the other members of the League.

(2) Austria.

November 8th, 1804. Francis made a secret treaty with Alexander arranging for armed resistance to any further aggression by France in Italy. But the Austrian army was disorganised, the country suffered from ineffective administration and bad trade, and Francis was unwilling to go to war with France. He acquiesced in the assumption of the Imperial Crown by Napoleon, but resented his action in crowning himself King of Italy on May 26th, 1805. The immediate cause of the addition of Austria to the Coalition was the inclusion of Genoa and the Ligurian Republic in French territory on June 3rd, 1805, contrary to the Treaty of Lunenburg.

August 8th, 1805. Austria secretly joined the Coalition on promise of a subsidy of £5,000,000 from Great Britain.

(3) Sweden and Naples.

Sweden joined the Coalition, but Pitt's efforts to secure the adhesion of Naples were foiled by Napoleon who compelled Naples, in July, 1805, to form a new treaty with France.

(4) Prussia.

Recent events in Hanover and off the Elbe made Frederick William III open negotiations for a closer understanding with Russia. Napoleon, anxious to secure the assistance of Prussia, offered Baginow to Frederick William if he would join France. But he finally resolved to remain neutral, and the neutrality of Prussia formed one of the reasons for the downfall of Austria and the failure of the Coalition.

V. The War to the Peace of Presburg, December, 1805.

A. Trafalgar.

1804. The blockade of Villeneuve's fleet at Toulon by Nelson, and of Guichenot's fleet by Collingwood prevented the French from conveying transports from Boulogne to England.

July 22nd, 1805. Villeneuve, who had sailed to the West Indies followed by Nelson, evaded Nelson and returned, but was defeated off Finisterre by Calder. Instead of joining the Brest fleet, as Napoleon ordered, he put into Cadix to refit, thus giving time for Nelson to return.

October 21st, 1805. Nelson utterly routed the combined French and Spanish ships under Villeneuve at Trafalgar, but was killed in the action. The battle saved England from invasion, annihilated the French fleet and gave Britain the command of the sea. It was one of the causes of the Continental System,¹ for Napoleon henceforth could directly injure Great Britain only by excluding her commerce from European ports. "Trafalgar forced Napoleon to impose his yoke on all Europe, or to abandon the hope of conquering Great Britain."²

B. Plan of campaign on the Continent.

An Austrian army, under the Archduke Charles, was to invade Lombardy; another under Mack was to unite

¹ Page 455.² Fyffe, page 185.

with the Russians in Bosnia and invade France; British, Swedish and Russian forces were to co-operate in Pomerania; British, Neapolitan and Russian forces were to occupy Southern Italy.

Bavaria, which signed a treaty with Napoleon on August 24th, 1805, Württemberg, Baden and Hesse-Darmstadt supported Napoleon.

C. The Overthrow of Austria.

(1) *The Grande Armée.*

September 1st, 1805. To meet the danger from Austria, Napoleon broke up the armed camp at Boulogne and despatched to Germany the Army of England, which had been brought to a high state of efficiency. The troops marched two hundred miles in a fortnight.

September 18th, 1805. Ney crossed the Rhine.

(2) *Ulm, October, 1805.*

September 8th, 1805. Mack entered Bavaria, and the Elector and his army fled to the French invaders. Instead of awaiting the arrival of the Russians Mack advanced westward and took up his position near Ulm.

Mack, who neglected the opportunity of escaping into Bohemia and the Tyrol, was gradually surrounded by the forces of France and her German allies, which, after violating the neutrality of Prussia by marching through Anspach, reached the Danube and cut him off from Vienna.

October 14th, 1805. At Eckmühl Ney defeated Mack who was trying to break through into Bavaria.

October 20th, 1805. Surrender of Mack and 25,000 men to Napoleon at Ulm.

[October 21st. Truchlitz.]

November 12th, 1805. Napoleon entered Vienna.

(3) *Austerlitz*, December, 1805.

a. Difficult position of Napoleon.

The defeat of the Allies at Ulm compelled the Russian advance guard, under Kutsoff, to fall back into Moscow, where it received strong reinforcements. The Archduke Charles was returning from Italy, where he had defeated Massena at Caldiero on November 22d; the Archduke John was coming back from the Tyrol; Prussia was preparing to attack the French; Napoleon's lines of communication were very long and difficult to guard. His soldiers were anxious to return to France where conscription had caused discontent. The Allies should have waited, but, largely owing to the impatience of the Czar Alexander, they determined to attack, and Napoleon's diplomacy prevented Prussia from intervening.

December 2nd, 1805. Napoleon routed Alexander and Francis II at *Austerlitz*. *Austerlitz*, "the battle of the three Emperors," was Napoleon's military masterpiece.

b. The effects.

Prussia, which would have joined the Coalition if Napoleon had been defeated, was compelled to make the Treaty of Schönbrunn on December 14th, 1805, by which she received Hanover, ceded to France Cleve and Neuchâtel and to Bavaria Aspach.

Although the Archduke Charles had a large army in Hungary, Austria, which had lost two armies and her capital, made an armistice with Napoleon on December 4th, 1805.

The Russians withdrew to Russia, unharmed by the French.

The news of *Austerlitz* led the Russians,

British and Sweden to withdraw from Pomerania, and the British and Russians from Naples. Ferdinand fled to Sicily where he was protected by the British fleet. Austria's trade Napoleon exposed in Italy and Southern Germany.

January 13rd, 1805. "Austerlitz killed Prss."

(6) The Peace of Presburg, December, 1805.

(a) Terms.

December 26th, 1805. By the Peace of Presburg, Austria

- (i) Ceded Venetia to Napoleon's Kingdom of Italy;
- (ii) Recognised the Electors of Württemberg and Bavaria as independent Kings, and the Elector of Baden as Grand Duke.
- (iii) Gave the Tyrol to Bavaria. The old Hapsburg territory in Swabia was divided between Baden and Württemberg.

b. Criticism.

Austria was bitterly humiliated. She lost all her possessions in Italy and was cut off from the Italian passes; the Emperor lost three million subjects and a sixth of his revenue, and was deeply grieved at the loss of so much of his ancestral territory. The disunity of Germany was aggravated. The Holy Roman Empire received its last blow and was abolished on August 6th, 1806.

VI. The Settlement of Europe.

By the end of 1805 Napoleon was master of territory bounded on the East by the Inn and on the South by the Straits of Messina. He now tried to secure the

position formerly held by Charlemagne as Emperor of the West, and "began to treat the government of the different countries of Western Europe as a function to be exercised by himself."¹

He gave kingdoms and principalities to his relatives and supporters, but retained their feudal suzerainty and required them to supply contingents for the French army.

A. Naples.

(1) The Deposition of Ferdinand IV.

In spite of the treaty he had made with Napoleon in July, 1806,² Ferdinand IV had joined the Coalition and admitted British and Russian troops to Naples.

December 27th, 1806. Napoleon deposed Ferdinand. Ferdinand fled to Sicily—which the British navy saved from Napoleon—"a thread of sea two miles broad was sufficient barrier against the Power which had subdued half the Continent."

Queen Caroline roused the populace to resistance, the peasants and brigands, led by "Pio Diavolo," rose, the Prince Royal held out in Calabria.

(2) Malta.

July 4th, 1806. A British army, under Stuart, sent to Calabria, defeated the French at Maida, but soon withdrew. The French conquered Southern Italy.

(3) March 30th, 1806. Napoleon made his brother Joseph King of Naples.

B. Holland.

June 5th, 1806. Napoleon made his brother Louis,³ the husband of Hortense Bonaaparte, King of Holland.

C. The Confederation of the Rhine, 1806.

(1) Dissolution of Germany.

Germany was not a nation. The Holy Roman

¹ *Ibid.*

² Page 447.

Empire, which had formed a gradually weakening bond of union during the Middle Ages, had been impaired by the Reformation; neither Austria, whose interests did not coincide with those of Germany, nor Prussia, owing to the tyranny and inflexibility of the military system of Frederick the Great, supplied a bond of union, and the disunity of Germany had been shown clearly at the Peace of Presburg.

(2) The Confederation.

a. The leading members.

July 12th, 1806. Napoleon, who was named Protector of the Confederation, organized "the Confederate States of the Rhine," the leading members of which were the Kings of Bavaria and Württemberg, the Grand Duke of Baden, and the Landgrave of Hesse.

b. The mediatised states.

Other nobles, hitherto regarded as tenants-in-chief or immediate subjects of the Empire, were now "mediatised," i.e. they passed under the authority of the Princes in whose states their lands were situated.

a. Alliance with France.

The Confederation declared itself separated from the Empire, made an alliance for mutual defence with France and agreed to supply 62,000 men to serve in the French armies.

d. Results.

The disunion of Germany was completed; the Holy Roman Empire, which had long been nothing but a name, was finally abolished by France on August 6th, 1806; the influence of France in Germany was strengthened; Prussia and Austria were excluded from the Confederation.

D. Other territorial arrangements and family marriages.

Napoleon now rewarded his faithful servants by grants of titles and territory.

(1) Princes.

Berthier was made Prince of Neuchâtel, Talleyrand of Beaumont, Bernadotte of Ponte Corvo. Pauline Bonaparte, Princess Borghese, became Princess of Guastalla.

(2) Dukes.

Napoleon created twenty dukedoms in Italy, twelve in Venetia. Scott became Duke of Dalmatia, Mortier of Treviso, MacDonald of Taranto, Bonaparte of Genoa.

Marat, who had married Caroline Bonaparte, became Grand Duke of Berg.

(3) Marriages.

Napoleon's stepson, Eugène Bonaparte, was married to Augusta of Bavaria; his brother Jerome was forced to repudiate his American wife, Miss Patterson of Baltimore, and to marry Catherine of Württemberg.

VII. The Overthrow of Prussia.

The new settlement led to better government both in Italy and Germany. It might have continued for a considerable time if Napoleon had not attacked Prussia, endeavoured to injure British Commerce through the Continental System, and aroused Spanish national feeling.

A. Causes of War.

Since the Treaty of Basle in 1765 Prussia had steadily maintained a policy of neutrality with France. But the traditions of Frederick the Great were not forgotten, Queen Louise led a strong war party in Berlin, and Napoleon's treatment of Prussia made war inevitable.

- (1) Frederick William III was irritated by Bernadotte's march through the Prussian territory of Anspach,¹ but Napoleon's victory at Austerlitz compelled him to accept the Treaty of Schönbrunn which aroused great resentment in Berlin.
- (2) Murat, Grand Duke of Berg, had seized Prussian territory at Vervins and Bapaume. French troops massed in Berg threatened Western Prussia.
- (3) Napoleon had suggested that Prussia should form a North German Confederacy and then prevented her from carrying out the plan.
- (4) Napoleon induced Frederick William to accept Hanover and then involved him in a quarrel with Great Britain. In July, 1806, Napoleon, who was negotiating with Fox for peace with Great Britain, offered, without the knowledge of Prussia, to restore Hanover to George III. The discovery of this treachery by Luttwisch, the Prussian ambassador at Paris, was the immediate cause of war.

B. The position of Prussia.

(1) Political.

Political action was hampered by the gross inefficiency of Ministers, especially Harpertz, and by the existence of a Royal Council independent of the Ministers. Stein's suggestion that a responsible Cabinet should be established, and Harpertz dismissed was rejected by Frederick William III.

(2) Military.

The memory of Frederick the Great was for the inefficient but courageous Prussian army a reputation it did not deserve. The generals were too old, knew nothing of recent developments in tactics, and were soon to show that they "knew only how to

capitulate"; the younger officers were utterly lionhearted; the common soldiers were mainly such whom brutal punishment induced to desert whenever possible.

(3) *Allies.*

In the early summer of 1806 Prussia was isolated. Great Britain rejected her acceptance of Hanover from Napoleon; Alexander was negotiating with Napoleon; Austria was too weak to help; Napoleon held Southern and Western Germany.

[August 26th, 1806, Palm, a bookseller of Nürnberg, was shot for selling a pamphlet on "Germany in its Deep Humiliation."]

(a) *Russia.*

September, 1806. Alexander, irritated by the failure of his negotiations with Napoleon, promised to help Prussia against France.

(b) *Great Britain.*

Great Britain promised help.

(c) *Sweden.*

Sweden agreed to assist Prussia.

But Russia was too far away to send early help. Great Britain moved slowly, Sweden could do little.

C. *War.*

September 25th, 1806. Prussia sent an ultimatum demanding the immediate withdrawal of French armies across the Rhine and Napoleon's assent to the North German Confederacy.

October 6th, 1806. On Napoleon's refusal to accept the ultimatum Prussia declared war.

Napoleon had kept the Grande Armée in Germany and concentrated it on the Main. He determined to strike at Berlin before Prussia could get help from

Britain or Russia. The indecision of Brunswick, the Prussian commander-in-chief, and his differences with Hohenlohe seriously weakened the Prussian army.

October 10th. Lannes defeated Prince Louis Ferdinand of Prussia, who was killed, at Saalfeld.

(1) Jena and Auerstedt, October, 1806.

Brunswick rejected Schwarzenberg's advice to hold the line of the Saale, and, learning that the French had seized Naumburg and so cut the communication between the Prussian army and Berlin, fell back to Auerstedt.

October 14th, 1806. Davout routed Brunswick at Auerstedt.

October 14th, 1806. Napoleon routed Hohenlohe's army at Jena.

October 19th, 1806. The French entered Berlin.

October 18th, 1806. Subordination of Hohenlohe with 10,000 survivors.

[November 1st, 1806. Napoleon issued the Berlin decree.]

(2) The surrender of Prussian fortresses.

The commanders of the fortresses, which might have checked the French advance, shamefully surrendered, before November 9th, Spandau, Stettin, Küstrin and Magdeburg.

November 7th, 1806. Lübeck, which Bücher gallantly defended, was stormed by the French.

(3) Russia.

Napoleon considered that his victory at Jena had "avenged the defeat of Rossbach."¹

Prussia was titanicly broken. Napoleon, who after Jena had demanded the cession of all Prussian territory west of the Elbe demanded, after the ignominious surrender of the fortresses, that the French should occupy all Prussian territory up to

the Vistula and that all unsupplied fortresses should be surrendered. Frederick William III refused these terms and fell back into East Prussia, where he hoped to secure the help of Russia.

The Elector of Saxony, who had negotiated with Prussia, now submitted to Napoleon, was made King of Saxony, and joined the Confederacy of the Rhine.

Blücher, whose shrewd diplomacy had contributed to the defeat of Prussia, now resigned. Stein became Minister of Finance, but Frederick William soon dismissed him for demanding that ministers should be admitted to the Royal Council.

VIII. The Peace of Tilsit, 1807.

A. The War with Russia.

Napoleon deluded the Poles into the belief that he was going to restore the independence of Poland, and secured a large number of Polish recruits. Napoleon now entered East Prussia; besieged Danzig, which held out until May 24th, 1807, and Kolberg, which successfully resisted under Gneisenau. He entered Poland and occupied Warsaw on December 18th, 1806.

(i) Eylau, February, 1807.

February 8th, 1807. Bonaparte fought with Napoleon the drawn battle of Eylau in which both sides lost heavily. The Russians retired, but the loss of 30,000 veterans of the Grande Armée was a serious blow to France.

(2) The Treaty of Tilsit, April, 1807.

April 24th, 1807. By the Treaty of Tilsit, Russia, Prussia, and later Sweden and Great Britain, undertook to continue the war. But Prussia was too weak to do much; Britain had been using her forces to defend her own interests in Egypt and South America, and although Canning decided to send an

expedition to the Baltic he was unable to despatch it immediately; Austria remained neutral. Napoleon, therefore, concentrated on Russia.

(5) Friedland, June, 1807.

June 14th, 1807. Napoleon routed Bennigsen at Friedland, drove him across the Niemen and entered Königsberg.

B. The Peace of Tilsit.

Russia could easily have continued the war. But Bennigsen was discouraged by his defeat; the Russians were tired of war and unwilling to fight to defend Western Europe against Napoleon, while Austria was neutral and Great Britain distant; Alexander resented the refusal of Great Britain to grant him a large subsidy and knew that Canning did not favour his designs against Turkey.

June 25th, 1807. Napoleon and Alexander met on a raft in the Niemen.

July 9th, 1807. The Treaty of Tilsit was signed.

(1) Terms.

a. Prussia lost her territory west of the Elbe, which was to be included in a new kingdom of Westphalia of which Napoleon made his brother Jerome king; that part of Poland she had recently gained, most of which was included in the new Grand Duchy of Warsaw which Napoleon gave to the King of Saxony; and the southern district of West Prussia.

b. Russia ceded to France the Jordan Isles and the district of Cattaro in Dalmatia; received Białystok in Poland.

c. Alexander promised to mediate between France and Great Britain, and recognised the subject states Napoleon had made in Italy, Holland and Germany.

- d. Danzig was to remain a free port.
- e. Napoleon promised not to restore the independence of Poland.
- f. Prussian ports were closed to British commerce.

(2) Secret Treaty.

- a. Napoleon urged Alexander to take Finland from Sweden, and Moldavia and Wallachia from Turkey, and promised French help against the Danubian Principalities.
- b. If Great Britain refused his mediation Alexander undertook to support Napoleon against her, and to force Denmark, Sweden and Portugal to make war against her.

(3) Criticism.

The Treaty of Tilsit marks the zenith of Napoleon's power.

Russia and France had practically divided Europe between them, except Austria; Prussia became a second-rate power; Great Britain remained the only enemy of France, and to weaken her Napoleon developed further the Continental System. Napoleon had vanquished the kings of Europe, he was soon to face national opposition, due largely to the development of the Continental System.

To secure the territorial expansion of Russia Alexander sacrificed his ally Prussia, for whom he could probably have obtained much easier terms. His alliance with Napoleon was condemned by a strong "English" party led by the Baryons Dvornik at St. Petersburg.

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NAPOLEON BONAPARTE AND FRANCE

I. The Establishment of Despotism.

A. The Constitution of the Year VIII. The Consuls.

December 24th, 1799. Proclamation of the Constitution of the Year VIII.

(1) The Executive.

Three Consuls were appointed for ten years and were re-eligible. The First Consul had practically absolute power, he alone could promulgate laws and appoint and dismiss all officials, civil and military, both in Paris and the provinces. The Second and Third Consuls had only a "consultative voice." The Consuls were not responsible to any other part of the Constitution.

Bonaparte was appointed First Consul and immediately consolidated his power by dismissing his colleagues Siyris and Ducos, and appointing, as Second and Third Consuls, Cambacérès and Le Brun, who were not strong enough to oppose him.

(2) The assemblies.

a. The Council of State.

The Council of State, upon which Bonaparte mainly relied, drafted laws, drew up public ordinances, interpreted statutes and acted as a court of appeal.

b. The Tribunal.

The Tribunal, of a hundred members, could pass or reject, but not alter, laws submitted to it by the Government.

c. The Legislative Body.

The Legislative Body, of three hundred members, was "a deliberative assembly" which accepted or rejected, without any power of discussion, laws expounded to it by Tribunes or Commissioners of State.

d. The Senate.

The Senate consisted of eighty members, at least forty years of age, appointed for life and irremovable. It nominated itself and the Legislative Body, Tribunate and Council. It could annul any law which it regarded as contrary to the principles of the Constitution.

(3) The Electorate.

Theoretically, universal suffrage was established, but, in practice, "popular suffrage was rendered completely ineffective."¹ The electors of each commune selected a tenth of their number to form "communal lists" of voters, who elected one-tenth of their number to form a "departmental list." The electors on the departmental list elected one-tenth of their number to form the "national list." Local officials were selected from the appropriate local lists; the Senate nominated members of the Tribunate and Legislative Body from the "national list."

(4) Local administration.

The *Préfets*, or heads of departments and their councils, the *Maires*, or heads of communes, were appointed by the First Council.

(5) General.

The Constitution of the Year VIII established a system of highly centralized despotism as absolute and as bureaucratic as that of the Monarchy, but without any of the checks which had been imposed

¹ *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. IX, page 2.

on the Monarchy by the old Provincial Estates and the system of privilege. All authority came from the First Consul, "there existed in France no authority that could repair a village bridge, or light the streets of a town, but such as owed its appointment to the central government."

B. The Empire.

The influence Bonaparte secured as First Consul in 1799 was strengthened by his great victories; by the commission Court he established at the Tuilleries; by the failure of a Chouan conspiracy to kill Bonaparte on December 24th, 1800; by the creation, on May 19th, 1802, of the Legion of Honour; by the appointment of Bonaparte as First Consul for life, with the right to nominate his successor in August, 1802; by the reduction of the Tribunate to fifty members; by the failure of Fieschi's plot against Bonaparte in February, 1804.

The ministers, D'Angas and Malou who Bonaparte appointed proved generally capable, and the administration of the country was rapidly reorganised. Frenchmen enjoyed the equality before the law which the Revolution had secured, and those who had bought State property were allowed to retain it. The absolute government of the Consulate gave order and prosperity to France.

(1) The Emperor Napoleon I.

May 18th, 1804. Bonaparte, on a proposal of the Tribunate, accepted by the Senate, became the Emperor Napoleon I. A plebiscite ratified the proposal by a majority of more than 3,800,000 votes.

The Empire was made hereditary.

December 2nd, 1804. Pope Pius VII came to Paris, invested Napoleon with the sword and sceptre of empire and was proceeding to crown him when Napoleon took the crown from the hands of Pius and crowned himself.

[2] The Imperial Court.

As Napoleon was already absolute the Imperial title did not add to his power, but, to emphasise his new dignity, he created a new Imperial hierarchy in which the influence of the Holy Roman Empire and the French Monarchy was apparent.

a. Imperial Grand Dignitaries.

These included the Grand Elector (Joseph Bonaparte), the Arch-Chancellor of the Empire, the Arch-Chancellor of State, the Constable (Louis Bonaparte) and the Grand Admiral (Maret).

b. Military Grand Officers.

These included Marshals, Inspectors and Colonel-Generals.

c. Civil Grand Officers.

These included the Grand Almoner, the Grand Marshal of the Palace and the Grand Chamberlain.

d. Territorial dignitaries.

The grant of kingdoms,¹ principalities,² and duchies,³ all dependent upon the Emperor, in Germany and Italy, emphasised the splendour of his position.

e. Titles.

A Grand Dignitary was entitled Prince; a Minister, Senator; a member of the Council of State, Count; Bishops and some Abbots, Bares.

f. General.

Thus Napoleon created a new order of society dependant on himself, and by elaborate ceremonial and strict etiquette emphasised the dignity and supremacy of his position. But

¹ Page 465.² Page 464.³ Page 464.

the Court set Napoleon off from the nation : " the Constitution had been narrowed to one man ; and that man had ceased to be national "

II. Religious Settlement.

A. General.

(1) The Constitutional Clergy and the Non-Juring.

The Convention did not abolish Christianity, and under the Revolution the constitutional priests continued to perform their functions. But, in spite of bitter persecution, non-juring priests continued to officiate, and thus the schism continued between the constitutional and non-juring priests.

(2) Roman Catholicism strong in France.

The Roman Catholic Church always had strong support in France in spite of the scepticism of the eighteenth century, and Chateaubriand's *Génie du Christianisme* confirmed the loyalty of the faithful.

(3) Bonaparte's position.

Bonaparte, although himself a sceptic, was anxious to establish friendly relations with the Pope who still exercised great moral influence ; the schism was inconsistent with his idea of the submission of all to the central power ; the support of the clergy would strengthen his position.

B. The Concordat of 1801.

The Concordat was the work of Bonaparte. Of the leading Frenchmen of the day only Lebrun favoured a religious settlement ; the opposition of the Tribunal was overborne by Bonaparte, and the Concordat was concluded on July 12th, 1801, and sanctioned by the Legislative Body on April 18th, 1802.

(1) *Terms.*a. *Bishops.*

All bishops, both constitutional and non-juring, were required to resign their sees; those who refused were deposed by the Pope. The bishoprics were reorganised, France was divided into 65 bishoprics and two archbishoprics, and Bonaparte nominated men to fill them. These nominees were instituted by the Pope.

b. *The clergy.*

The bishops received absolute power over the clergy who took an oath of obedience to the Government and received from it a fixed salary. But the ecclesiastical property which had been confiscated during the Revolution was not restored to the Church.

c. The Roman Catholic religion was recognised as the religion of the majority of Frenchmen, but toleration was granted to the professors of other creeds and liberty of conscience was allowed.

d. By the "Organic Articles" a uniform Catholic liturgy was established, the sanction of the Government was required for the admission of Papal bulls or legates, civil marriage was to precede the religious rite.

(2) *Criticism.*

a. Bonaparte's agreement with the Pope strengthened his position by winning for him the approval of the faithful body of Catholics in France.

b. Bonaparte thus established a religious system closely bound to the Government which strictly supervised the *Journal du Curé*, the only clerical journal allowed to appear after 1801.

- a. But the fact that an appeal was possible to the Pope by the clergy against the tyranny of bishops, and by bishops against the Government, led in France to the decay of Gallican liberties¹ and the rise of Ultramontanism.

C. Napoleon entered the Papal States, 1808.

(1) Napoleon and Pius VII.

In spite of the Concordat they had made in 1802, and although Pius VII created Napoleon's uncle, Fesch, a cardinal, serious differences arose between the Pope and Emperor.

a. Ecclesiastical questions.

Napoleon, who regarded himself as the successor of Charlemagne, "wished to restrict the Pope strictly to religious affairs," and by the Concordat had made the priests of France dependent on the civil government.

Pius strongly protested the extension to Italy of the Code Napoleon which authorised divorce; he refused Napoleon's request that he would divorce Jerome from Miss Patterson and so allow him to marry into one of the royal families of Europe.

b. Territorial questions.

Napoleon's continental policy was incompatible with the territorial sovereignty of the Pope.

Napoleon refused to return to the Papacy the Legations of Bologna and Ferrara which he had added to the Kingdom of Italy; he had confiscated Porto Cervo and Benevento, which belonged to the Papacy, and given them to Bernadotte and Talleyrand; Napoleon seized Ancona in 1805 and refused to restore it to the Papacy.

¹ *Notes on European History*, Vol. I, page 314, and Vol. II, page 78.

Pius VII had shown a distinct leaning towards the Coalition in 1805; protested against the appointment of Joseph Bonaparte, in March, 1806, as King of Naples over which the Pope had long claimed suzerainty; refused the demands made by Napoleon, in January, 1809, that he would expel from the Papal States all enemies of France and close the Papal ports against British trade; in October, 1809, he refused to institute Napoleon's nominees to Venetian bishoprics.

(3) The Occupation of the Papal States.

July, 1807. Napoleon's position had been greatly strengthened by the Treaty of Tilsit. The French occupied the Duchy of Urbino, the March of Ancona and Macerata which were incorporated in the Kingdom of Italy.

February 2nd, 1808. General Miath occupied Rome, and the Papal States became practically French territory.

May 17th, 1809. Napoleon revoked "the donation of Charlemagne, our august predecessor" and formally added Rome to the French Empire.

June 11th, 1809. Pius VII excommunicated Napoleon.

July 6th, 1809. Pius VII was arrested in Rome and carried off to prison in Savona.

D. Steady resistance of Pius VII.

(1) The French Commission, 1809.

The Pope now refused to institute French bishops, and Napoleon appointed, in November, 1809, an Ecclesiastical Commission for France. If this Commission had met his wishes it would probably have resulted in the severance of the Gallican Church from Rome and established the absolute authority of the French Government over the French Church. But,

while deciding that the seizure of the Papal States did not justify the Pope in refusing to install French bishops, it declared that problems affecting the whole of Christendom could be settled only by a General Council of which the Pope was president, and protested against the separation of Pius VII from his cardinals.

January, 1812. The Commission suppressed.

(2) The Concordat of Fontainebleau, 1812.

a. February 17th, 1812. The Senate decreed that all future Popes at their enthronement and all clergy in the Empire must accept the Gallican Articles of 1682. Deportation to Corsica of many Italian clergy who refused to accept the decree.

b. August 24th, 1812. A National Council ordered that sees should remain empty for not more than twelve months, and that the Metropolitan should institute bishops if the Pope failed to do so within six months. But the Pope's approval was declared necessary for the validity of this order and Pius VII refused to approve of it.

June, 1812. Pius VII was brought to Fontainebleau.

c. January 25th, 1812. Pius made a new Concordat with Napoleon at Fontainebleau, "authorised the Metropolitan to confirm the bishops whom Napoleon had appointed, and practically abdicated his temporal sovereignty by agreeing to take up his residence at Avignon,"¹ and to receive a revenue of two million francs. But he soon protested against this arrangement which he had signed as a prisoner and "in secret."

¹ Lodge.

(2) Pius VII returned to Rome.²

January, 1814. Napoleon's defeat at Leipzig in November, 1813,³ had weakened his power; he delivered the Pope to the Austrians. Pius reached Rome on May 24th, 1814, and Murat was compelled to agree to the restoration of the Papal Authority in the Roman States.

B. General.

Thus the steady opposition of the Pope had regained the Papal States and maintained his authority over the French clergy. Napoleon's quarrel with the Pope cost him the support of many Catholics in France and enabled his enemies to declare him the enemy of religion.

III. The Codes, 1804-1818.

The Legal Codes were the most durable part of Napoleon's work. They were drawn up by Committees appointed by Napoleon, who attended many of their meetings and materially assisted their proceedings by his "hard common sense" and "legislative vision." Although the idea that Napoleon actually drew up the laws which are included in the Codes is quite incorrect, Napoleon consolidated and popularised laws which, as a rule, were based on the legislation of the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies.

In spite of certain faults the Codes were concise, simple and just. They finally consolidated the work of the Revolution which had established "a secular state based upon a large peasant proprietary, a civil law unmanipulated from religious influences, a system of land-tenure devised to secure the maximum of equality, a law of persons, which proclaimed that all men had equal rights."⁴ The provision of a uniform system of laws, rapid in procedure and execution, was a great boon to France.

² Page 424.

³ *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. VIII, page 148.

A. The Civil Code.

August 12th, 1804. Napoleon appointed a committee of four lawyers to draw up a Civil Code.

(1) Of persons.

a. The power of the father.

The authority of the father over his family was strengthened, and the family was placed "absolutely at the disposal of its head." The father could increase his children; his assent was necessary for their marriage; he received the income of their property up to their eighteenth birthday.

b. The subjection of women.

A wife was subject to her husband and could not acquire or sell property without his consent.

c. Divorce.

The principle of divorce was admitted, contrary to the policy of the Roman Catholic Church. Divorce was allowed by mutual consent and for adultery, cruelty and grave criminal offences.

(2) Of property.

a. Interest.

Interest was fixed by law.

b. Inheritance.

A man could devise by will not more than a half and not less than a quarter of his property.

This clause was reactionary as the Convention had limited the devisable property to one-tenth of the whole. This limitation has been regarded as one cause of the lack of commercial enterprise and the disinclination of population which have characterised France in recent years.

B. The Code of Civil Procedure.

The Code of Civil Procedure was largely a re-statement of *d'Aguesseau's* *Ordonnances* of 1737 and 1738. It maintained the principle that conciliation must be attempted before recourse is had to law courts. But the procedure laid down by the code has proved slow and costly and has been amended.

C. Criminal and Penal Codes.

(1) Legal penalties.

Capital punishment, imprisonment or deportation for life, branding and confiscation of goods were established; maximum and minimum penalties were fixed for crime.

(2) Judge and jury.

Innocent judges and assize courts were established.

The jury system was maintained as a means of judgment, but not of accusation.

(3) Criminal procedure.

Accused persons were to be tried in public, to receive the assistance of counsel, to call witnesses and to speak in their own defence. But in the preliminary investigation, over which a *juge d'instruction* presided, the prisoner was not present to hear the evidence of witnesses and the fact that there was no system of *habeas corpus*, the nomination of juries by the *Préfets* and the secrecy of the preliminary investigation led to a real danger that the accused would suffer from the extensive power given to the executive.

The Code of Criminal Procedure was not decreed until 1808, the Penal Code not till 1810. Both showed signs of the stern despotism that Napoleon had established, particularly in the measures taken to prevent political offences.

D. The Commercial Code.

The Commercial Code dealt with General Commerce

Maritime Commerce, Bankruptcy and Commercial Courts. It is the most unsatisfactory of the codes and has required repeated amendment.

IV. Finance.

A. General.

In 1800 a great amount of depreciated paper currency was in circulation, and the financial position had been impaired by the corruption of the Directory. The position was improved by the exchange of the depreciated securities for annuities; by Bonaparte's refusal to issue securities to cover loans; by the punctual payment in cash of Government annuities; by the establishment in 1800 of the Bank of France, which received the sole right of issuing bank-notes. The standard of gold and silver coinage was fixed.

These financial arrangements contributed to the large measure of prosperity France enjoyed. In 1789, out of every hundred francs he earned, the peasant kept only sixteen for himself; after 1800 he kept seventy-nine. The price of Government stock reached its maximum of 63.4 on August 27th, 1807. Its minimum of 45, on March 29th, 1814, was higher than it had been in 1789.

B. Revenue.

The increase in stock, the cost of public works (particularly of roads, bridges and canals) and the extension of the Imperial palaces, the heavy cost of the Government and military expenditures necessitated a large revenue, in spite of large contributions levied on conquered countries.

(1) Taxation.

Bonaparte at first continued the policy of the revolutionary Governments which had relied mainly on direct taxation. But as his position became stronger he imposed more indirect taxes; in 1804 he

taxed liquors; in 1806, salt, in spite of the unpopularity of the gabelle; in 1810 he made tobacco a Government monopoly.

(2) War contributions.

The total amount of contributions of money and property exacted from conquered countries was enormous. It was used largely for military purposes, to meet part of the cost of public works and the Imperial palaces, and sometimes to strengthen the budget.

C. The economic crisis of 1814.

By the end of the Empire, in spite of all Napoleon had done to foster trade and industry, the economic position of France had become serious. The long war was now proving a drain on the finances; the Continental System had led to a general rise in prices; the harvest of 1811 was bad. Napoleon attempted to meet the crisis by lending money to manufacturers and by purchasing corn to fill the public granaries. But his attempt failed, and in 1812 he had recourse to the revolutionary plan of fixing a legal maximum price for corn. The disastrous Russian campaign of 1812 aggravated the difficulty; France was morally and physically exhausted.

V. Industry.

Napoleon admitted that he feared "popular insurrections due to economic causes," and took active measures to improve trade and industry.

A. State interference.

The Government recognised Chambers of Commerce in 1803; issued many laws to regulate the supply of food; compelled workmen to register with the police; established the metric system. Its policy was protectionist, the tariff of 1806 was one cause of the renewal

of war with Great Britain; the Continental System¹ has been regarded by some as "the pivot of Napoleon's policy."

E. Some important developments.

(1) Applied science.

The "Society for the Encouragement of National Industries" united manufacturers and scientists in a common effort to promote industry and "started in France the applied sciences" which owed much to technical schools and Government subventions.

(2) Particular industries.

1803. The discovery of the method of making sugar from beetroots and the extended use of slavery as a substitute for coffee mitigated the effect of the British blockade and led to the development of agriculture.

The woollen trade prospered; the silk trade of Lyons revived, and the cotton trade, in spite of the difficulty of obtaining raw cotton, made remarkable progress.

VI. Education.

A. Schools.

The Government supervised primary and secondary schools, which were supported locally; established and controlled *lycées*, a new type of school superior to secondary schools.

B. The University.

March, 1808. Establishment of the Imperial University, a degree of which was a necessary qualification for teachers. Academies were branches of the Imperial University and included those of Science, the French Academy dealing with French language and literature, Inscriptions and Belle-Lettres, Fine Arts.

C. The Press.

Napoleon exercised a rigid control over the press. The number of licensed printers was limited, the censorship of the police was strict. In 1809 the prefect was given control of the single newspaper that was allowed to be issued in each department.

September 17th, 1811. The three remaining Paris newspapers were confiscated and the press practically ceased to exist.

VII. General.

The Revolution, which was a revolt against the absolute government of the Bourbons, resulted in the absolute authority of the Emperor Napoleon. During the Consulate he had really exercised absolute power while preserving the forms of republican equality, but in 1804 he declared that all authority was vested in him as the representative of the Sovereign People.

After 1804 Napoleon nominated the Senate which passed without question the Senatus Consulto he presented for its ratification. He was singularly fortunate in his ministers, particularly in Talleyrand (Foreign Minister from 1799-1807), Berthier (War Minister from 1800-1807) and Fouché (Minister of Police from 1799-1802 and from 1804-1810), but from ministers and all public officials he expected strict obedience to his orders.

He made education a department of State and used it to support the social and monarchical system; he suppressed the liberty of the press; he regulated commerce; he formed a new order of aristocracy to replace the old.

He rendered great service to France, particularly by the codes, but the history of France during the nineteenth century consists largely of attempts to modify the centralized absolutism Napoleon had established.

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Cambridge Modern History, Vol. IX, chaps. i, v, vi, vii.
Life of Napoleon I (Rome), Bell and Sons.

EVENTS AFTER THE TREATY OF TILSIT

I. Denmark, Sweden, and Portugal.

In his desire to injure the commerce of Great Britain, his only remaining enemy, Napoleon determined to enforce the agreement made with Alexander I at Tilsit to compel Denmark, Sweden and Portugal to exclude British commerce from their ports, and to make war against Great Britain.

A. Denmark.

Denmark commanded the entrance to the Baltic; a strong French party, led by the Prince Royal, existed at Copenhagen; Canning learned that Napoleon proposed to compel Denmark to join him against Great Britain.

To anticipate the expected annexation of the Danish fleet by Napoleon, Canning demanded that Denmark should make an alliance and surrender her fleet. The Prince Royal refused.

September 2nd-7th, 1807. Heavy bombardment of Copenhagen by the British fleet and Lord Cathcart's army; seizure of the Danish fleet of nineteen vessels.

The action of the British in bombarding a neutral city and seizing a neutral fleet which was too small to affect the ultimate issue, aroused great indignation, seriously weakened the moral influence of Great Britain and lessened her chance of securing Continental allies. But Canning knew of Napoleon's designs and the bombardment of Copenhagen has been defended as an act of timely vigour which diminished the immediate danger from Napoleon.

October, 1807. Denmark made an alliance with France.

B. Sweden.

(1) Stralsund.

Gustavus IV of Sweden concluded, on June 27th, 1807, an alliance with Great Britain, and a fleet under Lord Cathcart arrived in the Island of Rügen to co-operate with the Swedes against the French who were besieging Stralsund. Largely owing to the removal of Cathcart's army to Copenhagen, Gustavus was compelled to surrender Stralsund to the French on August 30th, 1807.

(2) Finland.

Owing to the persistent refusal of Gustavus IV to adopt the Continental System, Alexander, in alliance with Denmark, made war on Sweden which received help from Great Britain.

March, 1808. The Russians took Åbo, the capital of Finland, Gethland and the Åland Isles.

March, 1809. Annexation of Finland by Alexander I who became Grand Duke and undertook to maintain the rights of the Duchy.

September 17th, 1809. By the Treaty of Fredrikshamn Charles XIII ceded Finland to Russia.

(3) Changes in the Swedish Monarchy.

March, 1809. Deposition of Gustavus IV, largely owing to the failure of the Swedes in Finland.

January, 1818. Charles XIII promised to adopt the Continental System, and made the Treaty of Paris with Napoleon who agreed to restore Swedish Pomerania and Rügen. Marshal Bernadotte, Prince of Ponte Corvo, was elected Crown Prince of Sweden in August, 1810, and became King Charles XIV in 1818.

C. Portugal.

Napoleon required the Prince Regent to declare war on Great Britain and to confiscate all British property in Portugal.

October 19th, 1807. The Prince Regent agreed to declare war on Great Britain, but refused to confiscate the property. Napoleon, who had gathered an army at Bayonne, declared war on Portugal, and on October 27th, 1807, made the Treaty of Fontainebleau with Spain by which Portugal was to be partitioned; its northern provinces were to be given to the young King of Etruria who was to cede Etruria to the kingdom of Italy; the King of Spain was made Protector of the district between the Minho and Douro; Godoy was to receive the southern provinces. Napoleon's real intention was to secure Portugal as a prelude to the conquest of Spain.

November 5th, 1807. Escape of the Prince Regent, the leading ministers and the Portuguese fleet to Brazil.

November 30th, 1807. Janot entered Lisbon.

II. The Revival of Prussia.

A. The development of national Patriotism.

(1) Prussia after the Treaty of Tilsit.

Prussia seemed crushed by the Treaty of Tilsit. She lost half her territory; France, in the years that followed, exacted from her not less than six hundred million francs; the French held the fortresses of Glogau, Chotin and Stettin as security for payment of indemnity; Prussian maritime trade was ruined by her adoption, by Napoleon's orders, of the Continental System.

(2) Political and social conditions.

The social conditions of Prussia were not calculated to produce national unity. The Monarchy was absolute, no form of self-government existed, and the people were passive agents of a despotic will. Rigid divisions of class separated from each other the three classes of nobles, citizens and peasants; land could not pass from one class to another; the peasants were serfs; Government officials prevented the possibility of civic freedom in the towns.

But the suppression of the Holy Roman Empire and the rise of large states, strong resentment at the presence of French armies and the exactions of Napoleon, and the example of the national resistance of Spain to France in 1808¹ made Germany, and especially Prussia, more ready to oppose France.

(2) The growth of patriotism in Prussia.

Barbarous centralised Government had fertilised Prussia with the idea of the unity of the State. This idea was strengthened by consciousness of suffering caused by the tyranny of Napoleon and by the heroic conduct of Queen Louise; it received from various sources an intellectual basis which distinguished the national movement in Prussia from the rising in Spain and largely accounted for "the harvest of mental and civic results with which modern Germany has enriched the life of Central Europe."²

a. The teaching of Fichte.

Fichte, Professor of Philosophy at Jena, and, later, Berlin, struck the keynote of the new movement in his *Redes an die deutsche Nation*, 1807, in which he advocated German patriotism based on a national system of education.

b. Education.

Largely owing to the efforts of Wilhelm von Humboldt, appointed Minister of Public Instruction in 1809, Prussian education was reformed. The Gymnasiums, in which classics formed the main subject, were reorganised, and new ideals of thoroughness and efficiency arose in the schools.

1810. The University of Berlin was opened, and the teaching of such professors as Fichte (philosophy), Savigny (jurisprudence), Voss (classics) and Niebuhr (history), profoundly affected German thought.

¹ Page 408.

² *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. VIII, page 224.

III. Incorporation of the University of Berlin.

a. The *Tugendbund*.

June, 1808. Formation of the *Tugendbund* which aimed at "the revival of morality, religion, serious taste and public spirit" and contributed to the revival of that moral enthusiasm which proved an important factor in the War of Liberation, 1813.

The reforms of Stein and Hardenberg gave practical effect to the desire for national independence.

B. The Prussian von Stein, 1787-1831.

(i) Chief Minister of Prussia.

Stein, a Knight of the Empire, had protested against the abolition of the Knights Order which the Confederation of the Rhine involved, and had urged that the nobles of Germany should give up their internal rivalries in order to promote the national unity of Germany. He had entered the Prussian service, but had been deprived of office in January, 1807, for advocating the establishment of a National Council to undertake necessary reforms. In 1807 Napoleon compelled Frederick William III to dismiss Hardenberg owing to his sympathy with Britain, and urged the King to make Stein his chief minister.

October 4th, 1807. Stein became Minister of Home Affairs in Prussia with the right of attending the deliberations of the recently established Military Commission.

(ii) The *Edict of Emancipation*, 1807.

Stein carried into effect the recommendations of a commission which had been appointed under Hardenberg, and the success of the *Edict* was partly due to the strong support of the King.

a. Terms.

October 9th, 1807. The Edict of Emancipation provided:—

(1) Serfdom.

That serfdom should be abolished; that serfs should retain the tenancy of their holdings on condition of giving to their lords one-third of the land in compensation for the loss of hereditary dues which were now abolished.¹ The lords retained judicial rights over their tenants until 1818.

(2) Caste.

Legal caste distinctions were abolished; occupations were to be open to all without reference to caste; the old division of land into noble-land, burgher-land and peasant-land was ended and freedom of trade in land permitted to all men irrespective of social position.

b. Criticism.

The Edict finally suppressed feudalism, except in regard to jurisdiction, in Prussia, and substituted free tenure of land for servile; it established the free distribution of labour and property. The Edict gained for Stein the strong animosity of the nobles, but the support of Frederick William III enabled him to overcome their opposition to it.

(3) The Establishment of Local Self-Government, 1808.

Stein regarded a strong monarchy as an essential condition of government; but he greatly admired the democratic institutions of Great Britain and desired to establish a Parliament, District Councils and Municipalities which would give the people an active share in the direction of affairs.

November 19th, 1808. The care of the poor, the maintenance of streets and public buildings and the

¹ This condition was added by Hardenberg in 1811.

supervision of schools were entrusted to elected town councillors; the authority of the lords of the manor was abolished; the Government retained control of finance and police.

This measure of self-government, limited though it was, did much to promote civic patriotism. The credit of it belongs to Stein alone, but he was unable to carry into effect his whole scheme. In 1806 Napoleon found that he was not only promoting a national revival in Prussia, but also advocating war with France, and by an Imperial decree compelled the King to dismiss him in December, 1806. Stein fled into Silesia. His ability, energy and devoted patriotism were important causes of the revival of Prussia.

C. General David Scharnhorst, 1766-1812.

Scharnhorst was responsible for the establishment of a Prussian national army, although he owed much to Stein's strong support. Napoleon, in September, 1806, invaded Prussia to maintain an army of more than 12,000 men, or to establish a militia. Scharnhorst insisted on the duty of every Prussian between eighteen and thirty to share in the national defence; he passed men rapidly through the army into the reserve, and while apparently limiting the army to the number prescribed by Napoleon, secured for Prussia by this "shrinking system" 150,000 trained men by 1812. Napoleon compelled Frederick William to dismiss Scharnhorst in 1810.

The King greatly improved the efficiency and morale of the army by abandoning the obsolete tactics of Frederick II, abolishing departing parades and enabling officers to gain promotion by merit.

III. The Conference of Erfurt, 1808.

A. Napoleon's difficulties.

(1) Austria.

Although Austria had accepted the Continental

System in February, 1808, her attitude towards Napoleon gradually became more hostile. Francis I, as a faithful Catholic, resented the occupation of Rome by French troops in February, 1808¹, as a Hapsburg he objected to the way Napoleon treated the royal houses of Portugal and Spain.

The French held Silesia, Warsaw and Dalmatia; the Austrians had failed to help Russia in 1807,² and could look for no help from Alexander; Great Britain had rejected the offer of Austria to act as mediator with Napoleon. But the Austrians, tired of Napoleon's domination, impoverished by the Continental System and inspired by the bold advice of Stadion, resolved to rely upon their own efforts.

June 8th, 1808. Formation of a national Landwehr composed of all citizens, other than regular soldiers, between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five.

(3) Napoleon and Alexander I.

Alexander had recently acquired Finland and was anxious to secure Moldavia and Wallachia. Napoleon, in May, 1808, made plans for an expedition which would give him Corsica, Sicily and Spain, and thus secure command of the Mediterranean with a prospect of an attack on India in the near future.

Alexander had resented the formation of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw and the continuance of French garrisons in Prussia, and Stein hoped to secure his assistance against France. But Napoleon now proposed that Turkey should be partitioned between Russia and France, while Austria was to receive a small portion of the spoil, and, although serious differences arose because the Russians demanded Bessarabia and Constantinople, the prospect of securing valuable additions to his territory kept Alexander friendly to Napoleon.

¹ Page 435.

² Page 436.

(3) The Spanish rising.

The Spanish Rising,¹ and particularly the Capitulation of Baylen on July 25th and the Convention of Cintra on August 30th, 1808, profoundly affected European politics. It helped stir and stimulate to raise national feeling in Prussia and Austria. It compelled Napoleon to give up his plans against Turkey and, in spite of the growing danger from Prussia and Austria, to draw large reinforcements from his veteran troops in Germany.

"It is not too much to say that [the Spanish Rising] saved Prussia from virtual extinction and the Turkish Empire from partition," and hindered all of Napoleon's plans.

B. The Conference.

Alexander's help was absolutely essential for Napoleon for he could prevent Prussia and Austria from rising against France while Napoleon was fighting in Spain. At Erfurt, Alexander and not, as at Tilsit, Napoleon, played the leading part.

(1) Terms.

October 12th, 1808. By the conference of Erfurt

- a. Napoleon agreed to the addition of Finland, Moldavia and Wallachia to Russia, but refused to agree to the cession of Constantinople and the Dardanelles.
- b. Alexander promised to support France if war broke out with Austria, but, anxious to maintain Austria as a buffer state, refused to support Napoleon's demand that it should immediately disarm.
- c. Napoleon promised to evacuate the Prussian fortresses on the Oder.
- d. Alexander recognised Joseph Bonaparte as King of Spain.

¹ Page 478.

- e. A joint proposal for peace made to Great Britain by Napoleon and Alexander proved unsuccessful because Canning insisted that the Spanish nation should be a party to any negotiations.

(2) Criticism.

The Conference resulted in the maintenance of the Franco-Russian alliance, but "on somewhat strained terms."

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THE WAR WITH AUSTRIA, 1809

I. The Position of Austria.

A. Austria the champion of Germany.

Austria, already hostile to France,¹ was encouraged to start a war in April, 1809, by the Spanish Rising which would limit the number of French forces available for service in Central Europe; Metternich, the Austrian Ambassador in Paris, reported that the French were tired of war. Stadion, who feared that Napoleon would attack Austria after he had conquered Spain, aimed at uniting German national feeling against Napoleon. Francis I, whose policy hitherto had been Austrian rather than German, seized the opportunity afforded by the weakness of Prussia to assume the leadership of Germany, and issued a stirring appeal "to the German nation" to fight for the Fatherland.

¹ Page 478, III. A. 1.

B. Isolation of Austria.

But Austria was isolated. Alexander I refused to support her. In spite of the growing hostility towards France in Prussia, Frederick William III refused to form an alliance with Austria as Scharnhorst wished and would not act without Russia. The people of the Confederation of the Rhine were greatly dissatisfied with French rule, but the officials and troops remained faithful to Napoleon; Saxony, Bavaria, Württemberg and Westphalia sent troops to fight in the French armies. The full effect of the Continental blockade was not felt throughout Germany until after 1809. Still less, therefore, failed to arouse German national feeling except in the German provinces of Austria. Great Britain, Napoleon's implacable enemy, could not at first do more than send subsidies.

II. Plan of Campaign.

In March, 1809, there were only two French army corps in Germany, that of Davoust, numbering 60,000, at Erfurt, and of Massena at Augsburg; Berthier commanded a third army which was quartered around Strasbourg. The Austrians had 205,000 men to whom, at the moment, Napoleon could oppose about 185,000.

A. The Archduke Charles.

The Archduke Charles, who had reorganised the Austrian army, concentrated 200,000 men in Bohemia, and was to attack Davoust before he could combine with the distant French armies of Massena or Berthier. A speedy attack would probably have annihilated Davoust's army and stimulated risings against Napoleon in Prussia and Westphalia, where Jerome's rule had caused great discontent.

B. The Archdukes John and Ferdinand.

The Archduke John was to attack the French in Italy and Dalmatia; the Archduke Ferdinand to invade Poland.

C. The Tyrolans.

The Tyrol had been given to Bavaria by the Peace of Pressburg, but was ready to rise against Bavaria owing to the heavy taxation imposed and the military service enforced by the Bavarians, and still more owing to the attack made by the latter on the rights and property of the Church.

III. From the Outbreak of the War to the Capture of Vienna.

A. The Archduke Charles.

(1) The dilatory tactics of the Archduke.

The Archduke Charles failed, owing to the slow concentration of his troops, to enter Bavaria until April 10th, 1809. He then advanced so slowly that he lost his opportunity of crushing Davout and gave Napoleon time to enter Donauwörth on April 17th. Davout checked the Archduke at Hohen on April 19th and succeeded in effecting a junction with Napoleon.

The delay of the Archduke was a fatal mistake.

(2) The Ratisbon campaign, April 19th-22nd, 1809.

Napoleon had now concentrated his forces.

April 20th, 1809. Napoleon routed the Archduke's left at Abensberg.

April 22nd, 1809. Napoleon routed the Archduke, commanding the Austrian main body, at Eckmühl.

The Austrian army was cut in two, it lost 40,000 men in five days; the Archduke crossed the Danube and took up a position on the Marchfeld.

May 13th, 1809. Napoleon entered Vienna.

B. The Archduke John.

April 16th, 1809. John defeated Eugène de Beauharnais, the Viceroy of Italy, at Sacile, and, on April 19th at Caldiero, but was compelled to retreat owing to the danger to Vienna.

June 14th, 1809. Bouchardet, who had pursued the Archduke, defeated him at Raab in Hungary and joined Napoleon at Leba. The Archduke fell back on Presburg.

C. The Archduke Ferdinand.

April 22nd, 1809. Ferdinand entered Warsaw.

June 3rd, 1809. Ferdinand evacuated Warsaw on the approach of superior Russian and Polish forces.

D. The Tyrol.

April 10th, 1809. The Tyrolese rose under Andreas Hofer, an innkeeper of Fiemys, and, with some help from the Austrians, within four days, took Innsbruck and expelled the Bavarians from Northern Tyrol.

May 3rd, 1809. The Bavarian general, Wrede, retook Innsbruck.

May 29th, 1809. The Tyrolese again took Innsbruck and drove the Bavarians out of the Tyrol.

E. Rising in Northern Germany.

(1) Wartphalia.

April, 1809. Unsuccessful rising under Dörnberg.

(2) Frederick von Schill.

April, 1809. Schill, a Prussian major, led his regiment from Berlin to support Dörnberg. Hearing of Dörnberg's failure he marched through Mecklenburg, took Stralsund on May 28th, but was slain on May 31st when Stralsund was retaken by Danish and Dutch troops.

IV. Aspern and Wagram.

May, 1809. Napoleon, having gained Vienna, determined to cross the Danube and attack the Archduke Charles on the Marchfeld.

A. Aspern and Essling.

May 20th, 1809. Forty thousand French crossed the Danube by bridge connecting the island of Lobau with both banks and occupied Aspern and Essling.

May 21st-22nd, 1809. Severe fighting in Aspern, which was lost and won five times, and Essling. The Austrians drove the French back into Lohau, but were too exhausted to pursue them.

The Battle of Aspern, the first Napoleon had lost, destroyed the belief that he was invincible and encouraged the Austrians.

B. Wagram.

Napoleon held Lohau, which he strongly fortified, and was joined on July 2nd, 1809, by the army of Italy under Bonaparte.

July 5th, 1809. Napoleon crossed to the north bank of the Danube with 180,000 men.

July 6th, 1809. Napoleon defeated the Archduke Charles at Wagram, but the Austrians retreated in good order. The Archduke John had failed to join his brother before the battle, and some authorities held that his failure was responsible for the Austrian defeat.

July 12th, 1809. The Armistice of Znaim stopped further fighting between the Austrians and French.

[The Tyrolese refused to recognise the Armistice and offered such resistance to the Bavarians that Napoleon sent Bonaparte to invade the Tyrol.

November 1st, 1809. Hater defeated on the Isberg.

February 21st, 1810. Hater shot by the French at Mantua].

V. Walcheren.

July 25th, 1809. Great Britain sent a force of 40,000 men, under Chatham, to attack Antwerp. Chatham landed in Walcheren, besieged Flushing which he took on August 16th, but failed to reach Antwerp which, owing to his delay at Flushing and the slowness of his advance, had been strongly fortified by the French.

September, 1809. The expedition was recalled to England except 15,000 men who were left for a time in Walcheren where 2000 died of fever and ague. The remainder returned to England in December.

The failure was due to the incapacity of Chatham and the climate. The expedition failed to weaken Napoleon. It is possible that an expedition to the mouth of the Weser, which the Austrians advocated, might have been more successful and might have materially helped Austria by encouraging Prussia to rise against Napoleon. It is certain that if the expedition had been sent to Spain it would have greatly assisted Wellington.

VI. The Peace of Vienna or Schönbrunn, October, 1809.

The weakness of the Austrian generals, the failure of the Walcheren expedition, the persistent refusal of Prussia to join Austria, the advice of Metternich who now advocated peace and an understanding with France, led Francis I to agree to the Peace of Vienna which was signed at Schönbrunn on October 14th, 1809.

A. Terms.

(I) Austria gave up.

- a. To Napoleon: Trieste, Carniola, Carinthia, Croatia and Dalmatia, which were recognised as the "Illyrian Provinces."
- b. To Bavaria: Salzburg and much of Upper Austria.
- c. To the Grand Duke of Warsaw: Most of Western Galicia.

(II) Austria agreed.

To recognise the authority of France in Spain, when conquered, Italy and Portugal; to accept the Continental System; to pay a large indemnity.

Austria left the Tyrolans to the mercy of Napoleon.

B. Consequences.**(1) Austria a second-class power.**

Austria had failed to weaken Napoleon's supremacy. By the Peace she lost 50,000 square miles of territory and four million inhabitants, she seemed to be excluded from Germany and the Mediterranean and became a second-class power. Metternich succeeded Stadion and adopted a policy of reaction at home and subservience to France in foreign affairs.

(2) Napoleon's position weakened.

But the war of 1809 had important consequences and ultimately weakened Napoleon's position. It united Wellington by withdrawing French troops from Spain at a critical moment; Alexander I strongly resented the invasion of Western Galicia to the Grand Duke of Warsaw; it showed the importance of national resistance to Napoleon and proved that he was not invincible; the heroism of Schill and Hofer was soon to inspire further resistance to Napoleon.

References:

- Revolutionary Europe* (Hanns Stieglitz), Bivingtons, chap. in.
Cambridge Modern History, Vol. VIII, chap. xii.
Life of Napoleon I (Rass), Bell and Sons.

THE CONTINENTAL SYSTEM

The conquest of Great Britain was essential for the success of Napoleon's plans. But an invasion of England was impossible as the British navy commanded the seas. Napoleon therefore determined to "conquer England on the Continent," and introduced the Continental System by which he hoped to exclude Great Britain and her colonies from European markets and to ruin British trade.

The idea of a Continental System was not new. France had always favoured Protection; the Revolutionists, following Quosney,¹ regarded agriculture as the true source of national wealth, hated England as the shade of corrupting commerce, and in 1793 excluded from the territory of the Republic all goods produced in Great Britain or her colonies. In 1800 Napoleon had seized Hanover and tried to secure Hamburg in order to close Northern Germany to British trade; on April 1st, 1806, he compelled Frederick William III to close the ports of Prussia and Hanover to British ships. Great Britain immediately retaliated by declaring the coast line from the Elbe to the Euxine a state of blockade.

I. The Decrees and Orders in Council.

A. The Berlin Decree and the Order of January, 1807.

(1) The Decree.

November 11th, 1806. By the Berlin decree Napoleon declared the British Isles to be in a state of blockade, ordered the imprisonment of British subjects found in French territory and the confiscation of their goods, closed all ports in French or allied territory to ships coming from Great Britain or her colonies.

(2) The Order.

January 7th, 1807. An Order in Council forbade neutrals, on pain of confiscation of ship and cargo, to trade between ports from which British ships were excluded.

B. The Warsaw Decree, 1807.

January 10th, 1807. Napoleon ordered the seizure in the Hanse towns of all British goods and colonial produce.

Great Britain therefore blockaded more strictly the North German coast.

C. The Orders of November, 1807, and the Milan Decree.

The danger to Great Britain caused by the union of Russia and France at Tilsit,⁴ led to more stringent orders.

(1) The Orders.

November 11th and 25th, 1807. Orders in Council declared that any port from which British goods were excluded was in a state of blockade, and declared unlawful all trade in articles produced by excluding countries; required neutrals actually sailing to a hostile port to go to a British port; gave facilities to neutral vessels to load in England and to re-export merchandise on favorable terms. Facilities were also given to neutrals to trade with a hostile port not actually subject to British blockade.

(2) The Decree.

December 17th, 1807. The (second) Milan Decree declared that any neutral ship diverting its course from a French to a British port should be "internationalized" and liable to capture.

D. The Trianon Tariff and Fontainebleau Decrees, 1810.

(1) The Trianon Tariff.

August 8th, 1810. Owing to the great amount of British colonial produce which was smuggled into Europe, Napoleon allowed the importation of such produce on payment of a duty of fifty per cent.

(2) The Fontainebleau Decree.

October 18th and 25th, 1810. The Fontainebleau Decrees ordered that all British manufactured goods found in French territory should be burnt and that special tribunals should be established to try people who attempted to evade Napoleon's decrees.

II. The System an important part of Napoleon's Policy.

Napoleon did his utmost to ensure the success of the Continental System. In 1806 he compelled Frederick

William III, and in 1697 persuaded Alexander I, to accept it. It largely accounts for his desire to weaken the Danish fleet in 1807, for his hostility to Portugal and Sweden in 1807 and 1808. He compelled Francis I to accept the Continental System in 1809. The opposition of Dutch merchants to the system led Napoleon to send French troops to occupy Holland in 1810 and caused the resignation of King Louis (Bonaparte). On December 8th, 1810, owing to the smuggling of British goods from Holland, Napoleon annexed the whole of the North-West Coast of Germany, including the free city of Lübeck and the Grand Duchy of Oldenburg, the Grand Duke of which was brother-in-law of Alexander I.

III. Effects of the Continental System.

A. Economic.

Napoleon, although he nominally controlled all harbours from Huelm to Ragusa, was unable strictly to enforce the system owing to the widespread smuggling by which it was evaded. Louis could not enforce it in Holland. Jerome could not be trusted to enforce it in Westphalia.

Europe could not dispense with the produce of British colonies and the manufactured goods of England. In 1806 Napoleon was compelled to issue licenses to French merchants to bring British goods into France, and the *Trésion Decree* of 1810 admitted British merchandise and manufactures; in the *Ryben* campaign Napoleon clothed his troops with sermons from Leeds and shoes from Northampton. The Continental System injured Europe more than Great Britain.

(1) Great Britain.

Britain derived great advantage from the practical extinction of neutral shipping which resulted from the system, and British shipowners secured the carrying trade of the world; she carried an enormous colonial trade, and ultimately derived commercial benefit

from the vast stores of bonded goods that were accumulated at her ports owing to the Order in Council of November, 1807; the contraband trade with Europe yielded enormous profits.

But serious difficulties were caused by the system. The exclusion of British goods from continental markets led to a rise in the price of gold which had to be exported to pay for imports. Paper currency was much inflated, the price of commodities rose (the average price of wheat in 1810 was 103s. a quarter) and great distress resulted among the poor. The restrictions on the export of British goods to the Continent caused serious industrial depression.

But on the whole the system "increased rather than diminished the commercial prosperity of England."¹

(2) Europe.

The system caused profound discontent. Merchants suffered greatly, particularly from the loss of British trade, and many were ruined by the destruction of their goods in accordance with the Decree of Fontainebleau. The merchants of Holland and the industries of Switzerland were ruined; in Hamburg in 1810 only one sugar refinery out of 435 was working; French troops had to be sent to Frankfurt in 1809 to compel the city to carry out Napoleon's orders.

The people suffered seriously owing to the great rise in the price of necessary commodities.

The Baltic States suffered most. They could not produce any of the excluded commodities as was possible to some extent in southern countries. It was impossible to smuggle their staple products, such as timber and iron, into Britain which hitherto had been their best customer. "The experiment broke down where failure might have been expected, namely, in Russia, Sweden and Northern Germany."²

¹ *More Stephens, Revolutionary France*, page 481.

² *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. VIII, page 498.

B. Political.

(1) Great Britain.

The measures taken by Great Britain to counteract Napoleon's schemes led to the War with the United States, 1812-1814.

11

(2) France.

The hostility to Napoleon which, owing to political apathy had not led to active opposition in 1809, was revived by his fiscal policy.

(3) Russia.

Alexander I strongly resented the injury caused to Russian trade and the seizure of his brother-in-law's Duchy of Oldenburg. He removed all prohibitions on the import of British goods in 1811. With the conclusion of Peace between Great Britain, Russia and Sweden in 1812 the Continental System came to an end. It proved one of the causes of the Russian war of 1812.¹

IV. General.

The Continental System is "the most stupendous proof of Napoleon's incapacity as a statesman."² It was a fantastic scheme which betrayed the limits of practical statesmanship. It was based on the fundamental error that Napoleon's subjects would sacrifice their personal comfort to enable him to crush his hated and invincible enemy, Great Britain, which was economically indispensable to Europe. It materially contributed to the overthrow of Napoleon.

References:

Cambridge Modern History, Vol. IX, pages 229-3 and chap. XIX.

¹ Page 264.² Lodge.

THE PENINSULAR WAR, 1808-1814

I. The French invade Spain.

Napoleon meant to use Portugal as a base for an attack on Spain.

A. Godoy and Napoleon.

The weak King Charles IV and his minister Godoy, the lover of the Queen, had been subservient to France since 1796. Their policy had resulted in the destruction of the Spanish and French fleets at Finisterre¹ and Trafalgar,² and the consequent interruption of the supply of gold and silver from Mexico and Peru. Napoleon had offered the Spanish Balearic Isles to Great Britain in exchange for Sicily in 1805; the capture of Buenos Ayres by the British in June, 1806, led Godoy to enter into secret negotiations with Great Britain and, hoping that Prussia would keep Napoleon in check, to call the Spanish people to arms to maintain their independence. But owing to the French victory at Jena, Godoy resumed his relations with Napoleon, and by the Treaty of Fontainebleau in 1807 agreed that French armies should pass through Spain on their way to Portugal.³

B. The Spanish Royal Family.

(1) Rivalry between Charles IV and Ferdinand.

Ferdinand, Prince of the Asturias, led the strong opposition to Godoy, and in October, 1807, Charles IV arrested his son on a charge of plotting to dethrone him and murder the Queen and Godoy.

(2) The French invasion.

December, 1807. Dupont crossed the Bidasoa.

February, 1808. The French seized Pampeluna in Biscay and the citadel of Barcelona in Catalonia, on the East Coast.

¹ Page 468.

² 448.

³ Page 470.

(3) *The Revolution of Aranjuez.*

March 18th, 1808. The Spaniards, bitterly hostile to Godoy and suspicious of the movements of the French, rose at Aranjuez. Charles IV in terror resigned the Crown to Ferdinand, who, instead of joining the Spanish army, waited at Madrid the arrival of Murat, who proclaimed himself "Lieutenant for the Emperor in Spain."

(4) *Abdication of Ferdinand.*

May 6th, 1808. Ferdinand, terrified by Napoleon, surrendered the throne to Charles IV, who at once abdicated.

June 15th, 1808. The Spanish Government accepted Joseph Bonaparte as King of Spain.

C. *National rising.*

An unsuccessful rising against Murat's troops had taken place in Madrid on May 2nd. The proclamation of Joseph Bonaparte as King of Spain led to a national rising of the Spaniards, who, unlike Germany and Italy, were a united and patriotic nation. This was the first appearance of national resistance to Napoleon.

The strength of the resistance lay in the provinces, not Madrid, which was of little military importance. Provincial Juntas were formed, but they were weak and incompetent. The regular soldiers were few; most of the forces available were raw recruits. Napoleon, thinking the rising could be easily crushed, tried to put it down with flying columns of inexperienced conscripts.

D. *The capitulation of Baylen.*

July 13th, 1808. Bonnier defeated Blake at Medina del Rio Seco in Leon and secured the communication between Madrid and the Pyrenees. Mureau was checked in Valencia.

July 20th, 1808. Dupont, advancing towards Seville in Andalusia, was compelled to surrender at Baylen. This victory led to the flight of Joseph from Madrid on

August 1st and the withdrawal of the French to the Ebro. It encouraged the Spaniards to start the guerrilla warfare which proved so costly to the French. It encouraged Austria to resist Napoleon and led Alexander I to doubt the wisdom of the friendly relations he had established with Napoleon.

II. The Sacking of Portugal.

A. The assistance of Great Britain.

(1) Change in British policy.

Hitherto Great Britain had used her navy to capture French, Spanish and Dutch colonies and to secure the Mediterranean. Her military efforts had been limited and often unsuccessful. She now, to the great advantage of Europe, abandoned her policy of military pick-pockets and "picking sugar islands" for military intervention on a large scale in Europe.

(2) Portugal seeks British aid.

The rising in Spain cut off Junot's army which lay around Lisbon: the Portuguese rose against the French and established a Junta at Oporto. The Junta, unable to resist Junot, appealed for help to Great Britain, which promised assistance.

B. The Convention of Cintra.

(1) Sir Arthur Wellesley.

August 1st, 1808. A force of 9000 men under Sir Arthur Wellesley, intended for South America, was diverted to Portugal and landed at Mindelo Bay.

August 17th, 1808. Wellesley defeated at Balsa a French force which tried to stop his advance on Lisbon.

August 21st, 1808. Wellesley's reinforced army routed Junot at Vimeira, but he was prevented by his superior Burrell from pursuing the defeated French.

(3) The Convention of Cintra.

August 30th, 1808. Dalrymple, who had superseded Baird, by the Convention of Cintra allowed Junot to evacuate Portugal with all his spoils. The evacuation of Portugal and the surrender of Lisbon without injury gave Britain a friendly and strong base of operations, but Dalrymple was censured for giving too favourable terms to Junot. Bouché & Baird, Dalrymple and Wellesley. Sir John Moore succeeded Dalrymple.

C. Napoleon entered Madrid.

(1) Napoleon comes to Spain.

Napoleon, after the defeat of Baylen, sent veteran troops under Victor, Mortier and Ney to Spain and himself entered Spain in November, 1808.

(2) The Spaniards defeated.

A central Junta had been established, but its refusal to appoint a commander-in-chief weakened the Spaniards, who were drawn up in three armies extending from Biffaz to Saragossa. Napoleon determined to defeat the eastern and western armies, to break through the centre and advance on Madrid.

November 16th, 1808. Soult routed the army of Estramadura, the centre, at Burgos.

November 17th, 1808. Victor routed Blake's army of Galicia, the left, at Espinosa.

November 23rd, 1808. Larosce routed the combined armies of Andalusia and Aragon, the right, under Palafox at Tudela.

December 4th, 1808. Napoleon entered Madrid.

D. Corunna.

Sir John Moore advanced from Lisbon to help the Spanish left, but hearing of the recent defeats the Spaniards had suffered, determined to weaken Napoleon's line of communications and so relieve the pressure on Madrid. He was joined by Baird's army from

Cortuna on December 30th and prepared to attack Scott at Sahagun, but, learning of the fall of Madrid, and hearing that Napoleon was advancing against him, retreated to Coruna. This masterly retreat was marred by the bad discipline and drunkenness of the soldiers and by the heroism with which the ragged host of the attacks of Scott, who continued the pursuit after Napoleon had returned to France. Moore reached Coruna, where he had to wait for transports, and the delay gave time for Scott to arrive.

January 16th, 1809. Moore routed Scott at Coruna, but was killed in action.

Moore's raid saved Southern Spain and Portugal from immediate attack; stopped the French advance for two months; gave the Spaniards time to rally their forces.

B. Talavera.

(1) French successes.

a. Portugal.

March 21st, 1809. Scott captured Oporto.

b. Estremadura.

March 28th, 1809. Victor defeated the Spanish Army of the South at Medellin.

c. The North-East.

December 21st, 1808. Defeat of the army of Catalonia at Molina de Rey by St. Cyr.

February 20th, 1809. Surrender of Saragossa to Lannes after a strong resistance.

(2) Wellesley returns to Portugal.

April 22nd, 1809. Wellesley landed at Lisbon and took command of the British and Portuguese forces. His arrival inspired the Portuguese.

May 12th, 1809. Wellesley forced the passage of the Douro, drove Scott out of Oporto into Galicia.

(3) Talavera.

Wellington now decided, in conjunction with a Spanish army under Cuesta, to attack Victor, who left Salamanca owing to the exhaustion of his soldiers and retired towards Madrid.

July 27th-28th, 1809. Wellington routed Victor at Talavera, but the inactivity of Cuesta limited his success and the united forces of Soult and Ney threatened his flank. He gave up the idea of advancing on Madrid and withdrew into Portugal. Wellington was created Viscount Wellington.

(4) French successes.

a. Andalusia.

November 18th, 1808. King Joseph defeated the Spaniards at Oudiz and overran Andalusia.

b. Aragon and Catalonia.

June 18th, 1809. Suchet routed Blake at Belchite.

December 23rd, 1809. Angaran took Gerona, in spite of the gallant defense of Alvarado.]

F. The last French invasion of Portugal, 1810.

Napoleon wished to attack Portugal but the invasion was delayed by the Andalusian campaign, the late arrival of reinforcements sent from Germany after Wagram and the gallant resistance of Ciudad Rodrigo which resisted Ney's attacks from April 18th till July 16th, 1810.

Wellington seized the opportunity to construct the double line of Torres Vedras and a third line at the mouth of the Tagus to facilitate the embarkation of his army in case of defeat. The former line stretched for twenty-nine and twenty-two miles respectively from sea to sea and were protected by 627 guns. He persuaded the Portuguese to evacuate and devastate the country in front of the lines and left the Portuguese militia outside to harass the French by guerrilla warfare.

(1) Massena's advance.

Massena took Almeida and invaded Portugal with 70,000 men on September 18th, 1810. Wellington fell back, and having defeated the pursuing French at Bussaco, where the Portuguese fought bravely, on September 27th, passed within the lines of Torres Vedras on October 11th, 1810.

Massena found the lines too strong to attack and fell back on Santarém, where his army suffered greatly from hunger. He made a skilful retreat to Ciudad Rodrigo, which he reached on April 6th, 1811. He lost 28,000 men in this campaign, mostly through starvation, and of his conquests retained only Ciudad Rodrigo and Almeida.

(2) Massena's retreat.

Wellington, who had received reinforcements from England, pursued Massena, besieged Almeida, defeated Massena, who tried to relieve it at Fuentes d'Onore on May 3rd-8th, 1811, and captured Almeida on May 11th. Portugal was thus cleared of the French.

Massena's failure proved the turning point of the war and had a profound moral effect on Europe. "The offensive power of the French hosts in Spain was spent; and it may be said that the retreat which began at Santarém only ceased at Toulouse."¹ It saved Portugal, gave Wellington a base of attack on the lines of the French from Madrid to Bayona, secured for him the steady support of the British Government, which had hitherto been somewhat reticent, and encouraged the Spaniards.

III. Wellington's Second Invasion of Spain, 1812.

A. Badajoz and Ciudad Rodrigo.

To facilitate his proposed invasion of Spain, Wellington attacked Badajoz and Ciudad Rodrigo.

¹ *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. IX, page 486.

(1) Badajoz.

Wellington now determined to lay siege to Badajoz, which Soult had captured in March, 1811.

May 16th, 1811. Marmont defeated Soult, who was advancing to raise the siege, at Albuera; but the union of the armies of Soult and Marmont, who had surrounded Huesca, compelled Wellington to withdraw from Badajoz on June 12th.

(2) Ciudad Rodrigo.

August, 1811. Wellington besieged Ciudad Rodrigo, but was compelled to retire into Portugal owing to the pressure of a French army of 60,000 men under Marmont at Salamanca.

By the end of 1811 the French advance was checked. Although they had 300,000 men in Spain, the persistence of the Spanish guerrillas and the need of strongly garrisoning the provinces they had conquered prevented them from concentrating more than 70,000 men against Wellington.

B. Madrid, 1812.

[January 9th, 1812. Beresford, who had recently taken Tarragona, captured Talencia.]

(3) Capture of Badajoz and Ciudad Rodrigo.

Wellington took Ciudad Rodrigo on January 19th, 1812, and Badajoz on April 6th; the successful exertions of the British soldiers greatly raised their success. Wellington could now advance into Spain.

(4) Salamanca.

July 22nd, 1812. Wellington routed Marmont at Salamanca. This victory enabled Wellington to enter Madrid on August 12th, compelled Soult to evacuate Andalusia and to raise the siege of Cadiz; delivered Leon and Castile from the French.

(3) Wellington's retreat.

September 10th–October 10th, 1812. Failure of Wellington to take Burgos. The union of the armies of South, King Joseph and Suckot at Valencia compelled Wellington to withdraw into Portugal.

IV. Wellington's Successful Advance,¹ 1813.

Wellington's position was now greatly improved owing to Napoleon's Russian campaign² which caused him to withdraw from Spain large forces of veterans who were replaced by conscripts, to the great improvement in the Spanish and Portuguese armies and to the steady support of Lord Liverpool, who became Prime Minister in June, 1812.

A. The Campaign of Vittoria.

The activity of the Spanish guerrillas had compelled the French to weaken their line, which extended from Salamanca to Toledo. Wellington, having secretly sent Graham to turn the right flank of the French, advanced himself from Ciudad Rodrigo. Largely owing to the pressure on his right, King Joseph fell back from Salamanca and Burgos and was cut off from the road to Bayona, his best line of retreat.

June 31st, 1813. Wellington utterly routed Joseph and Jourdan at Vittoria.

By this victory the British gained the whole equipment of the army of Spain and Joseph's state carriages containing very valuable spoil; the French evacuated Central Spain; Suckot evacuated Valencia and Tarragona; Joseph gave up his attempt to secure the Crown of Spain and retreated through Pamplona.

B. The Campaign of the Pyrenees, 1813–1814.

(1) Capture of the border fortresses.

Wellington now determined to invade France, which was protected by the fortresses of Pamplona and St.

¹ Page 635.

Sebastian. The gallant resistance of these two fortresses held up Wellington's advance for four months.

August 31st, 1813. Capture of St. Sebastian.

October 31st, 1813. Pampeluna surrendered owing to starvation.

(2) The battles of Ab Pymont.

Scott now accompanied Jordan and made Bayonne his base.

October 7th, 1813. Wellington forced the line of the Bidassoa.

November 10th, 1813. Wellington carried the line of the Nivelle.

December 9th, 1813. Wellington forced the passage of the Nive and threatened Bayonne. Scott was now weakened by the despatch of 10,000 men to defend the eastern frontier of France. He fell back not on Bayonne but towards Toulouse, hoping to turn Wellington's right flank.

February 27th, 1814. Wellington defeated Scott at Orthez. Surrender of Bordeaux.

(3) Toulouse.

April 10th, 1814. Wellington defeated Scott at Toulouse.

V. General.

A. The French.

(1) The French required enormous armies to maintain their lines of communication, hold conquests and replace losses. After 1811 many veteran soldiers were recalled from Spain to take part in Napoleon's eastern campaigns.

(2) Their cause was weakened by quarrels between generals, between Scott and Ney and between Scott and Marmont.

- (3) The French could not live on the country owing to its poverty; their supplies were continually cut off by guerrillas; starvation compelled Victor to retire from Estremadura in 1809, and Massena to evacuate Portugal in 1811.
- (4) The movements of the French armies were impeded by their enormous baggage trains; the British captured several thousand carriages laden with valuables at Vitoria.

B. The British.

- (1) Portugal formed an excellent base, and the command of the sea ensured the easy despatch of reinforcements and supplies.
- (2) Their shooting was better than that of the French, and British soldiers proved far more steady than the French in battle.
- (3) The Spanish regulars proved at first unreliable, especially at Talavera. The Portuguese, after gaining confidence in Wellington, fought well; they rendered efficient help as early as Busaco in 1810; the Spanish troops improved after 1810 owing to the better discipline Wellington enforced.
- (4) The Spanish guerrillas rendered very valuable service and engaged the attention of large numbers of French soldiers who might otherwise have served against Wellington. The operations of the guerrillas were facilitated by the fact that mountain chains barred the roads from North to South, by the bad state of the roads and by the rivers which hampered the French armies.

C. Europe.

The Peninsular War had important effects on Europe.

- (1) The risings in Spain and Portugal were the first

instances of national opposition to Napoleon, who found "that a whole people is more powerful than disciplined armies." The example of Spain and Portugal stimulated national opposition in other countries, particularly Prussia and Austria.

- (2) The war proved a "running sore" to Napoleon and prevented him from using all his troops in the War of Liberation.² If Napoleon had been able to use in Saxony in 1812 the 200,000 soldiers who were serving in Spain he might actually have gained the victory that he barely missed, and compelled the Allies to agree to a peace that left his territory undisturbed.

References:

Cambridge Modern History, Vol. IX, chap. 27.

English Men of Action. Wellington. Chaps. v-viii.

The Political History of England, 1801-37 (Longmans), Chap. v.

The Peninsular War (Sir Charles Oman).

THE RUSSIAN INVASION, 1812

I. Differences between Napoleon and Alexander.

The friendship between Alexander and Napoleon which had been established at Tilsit in 1807 and confirmed at Erfurt in 1808 was strained by the robbery and the Dorgener Express. It had been impaired by the refusal of Napoleon in 1808¹ to agree to the acquisition of Constantinople by Russia, and various causes led to war.

A. Poland.

Alexander feared that the establishment of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw might lead to the revival of the Kingdom of Poland, to which he might be compelled to restore the provinces Russia had secured by the

¹ Page 818.

² Page 485, §. 1.

Partitions of Poland. He strongly objected to the substantial additions made to the Grand Duchy by the Treaty of Vienna, 1809. He was annoyed, too, by Napoleon's refusal in 1809 to promise that the Kingdom of Poland should never be re-established.

B. The Austrian War, 1809.

Napoleon complained that Alexander had sent only 15,000 men to help him against Austria and that these had arrived too late to be of much use.

C. Oldenburg.

1810. Alexander was very angry at the dethronement of his brother-in-law the Duke of Oldenburg and the incorporation of his Duchy in the French Empire.

D. Napoleon's marriage.

The Empress Dowager refused to give her daughter, the Grand Duchess Anna, to Napoleon, who was much affronted by her refusal.

April, 1810. Napoleon married the Archduchess Marie Louise, daughter of the Emperor Francis I.

E. The Continental System.

Napoleon was angry because Alexander relaxed the embargo on British goods owing to the grave injury it inflicted on Russian trade. Napoleon hoped to conquer Russia and finally to ruin British commerce by excluding it from Russian ports. He hoped to become master of all Europe and spoke of "thrusting Russia into Asia."

II. Other Nations.

A. Prussia and Austria.

Prussia and Austria, lying between the combatants, could not remain neutral.

Hardenberg failed to secure a promise that Russia would defend Prussia against France. On February

24th, 1802, Prussia undertook to give supplies to French armies marching to Russia and to furnish 30,000 men. Consequent resignation of Scheremetev and Goltzenko, who favoured war with France.

The family relation between Napoleon and Francis I won for France the support of Austria; Napoleon promised to restore Illyria to Austria.

B. Sweden.

- (1) Bernadotte, now Prince Royal of Sweden, resented the injury done to Swedish trade by the Continental System.
- (2) January, 1802. Napoleon seized Swedish Pomerania.
- (3) April 9th, 1802. Alliance of Sweden and Russia. The Treaty of Åbo. Sweden agreed to cede Finland to Russia and to supply 30,000 men to co-operate with Russia; Russia agreed to help Sweden to secure Norway.

Thus Bernadotte sacrificed the interests of his new country instead of those of his old master.

C. Turkey.

Turkey was at war with Russia, which hoped to secure Moldavia and Wallachia in accordance with the Treaty of Tilsit.² Napoleon therefore expected to secure the aid of Turkey against Russia.

May 26th, 1802. Alexander made the Treaty of Bucharest with Turkey and received only Bessarabia.

D. Great Britain.

Castlereagh, who became Foreign Minister in February, 1802, strongly supported Wellington in the Peninsular War and tried to stir up the sovereigns of Europe to oppose Napoleon. He approached Alexander I through Bernadotte, and on July 16th, 1802, a treaty was signed at Örebro between Sweden, Russia and Great Britain. Great Britain promised to establish Russia, and Alexander gave the Crown a *droit de veto* for safe keeping to Britain.

² Page 480.

Great Britain acted as mediator between Russia and Turkey, and British diplomacy assisted to obtain the Treaty of Bucharest.

Thus Great Britain succeeded in frustrating Napoleon's hope that Sweden and Turkey would help him in attacking Russia.

III. The Invasion of Russia.

A. Strength of Napoleon's army.

The total strength of Napoleon's army was 680,000, of whom about half were French; the number that crossed the Niemen on June 24th, 1812, was 420,000. Napoleon was in poor health, his mental power was diminished and he could not properly direct the operations of his vast force.

B. Plan of campaign.

(1) Disposition of Napoleon's army.

Napoleon had an army of 20,000 men, including the Prussians, at Tilsit; he commanded the central army of 280,000 men; the Austrians, under Schwarzenberg, were in Galicia.

(2) The Russian forces.

The total Russian forces available numbered 300,000 men, though they expected reinforcements from the troops which had been fighting Turkey. Two armies, one of 100,000 men under the command of Barclay de Tolly, one of 80,000 under Prince Bagration, opposed the French central army, while a smaller force faced Schwarzenberg.

(3) Napoleon wished to attack the Russians at once. But progress was hampered by bad roads and by the breakdown of transports, and, although the Russian Poles were friendly, Napoleon had lost 35,000 men by sickness or desertion before he reached Wilna. The delay proved fatal to his schemes; the Russians fell back and avoided battle.

June 28th, 1812. Napoleon entered Wilna, the capital of Russian Poland, which the Russians had just evacuated. He had to wait there three weeks to rest his army, but the delay was a serious military error.

C. The march to Smolensk.

(1) Russian strategy.

Alexander ordered Barclay and Bagration to meet and fight Napoleon at Drissa, but Bagration did not appear and Barclay continued his retreat to Smolensk, where Bagration joined him on August 3rd, 1812. The Russians clamoured for battle, but Barclay, realising that his retreat had inflicted great loss on Napoleon without injury to himself, ordered his troops to retire towards Moscow and kept only 20,000 men to hold Smolensk and protect the retreat.

(2) Napoleon at Smolensk.

August 14th, 1812. Napoleon entered Smolensk, which he found deserted and in ruins. He had now lost 100,000 men. He ought to have remained at Smolensk for the winter but foolishly resolved to press on to Moscow, hoping that the capture of Moscow would compel Alexander to submit. The Russian peasants were bitterly hostile and devastated the country through which Napoleon's route lay. "Every day's march cleared from Smolensk cost the French three thousand men."

D. Moscow.

Alexander appointed Kutusoff as commander in place of Barclay, who was not a Russian, but a Livonian, and whose refusal to fight a pitched battle was resented by the Russians.

(1) Borodino, September, 1812.

September 7th, 1812. In this sanguinary battle the total losses of both sides approached 60,000 men.

Neither side secured a decisive victory, but the Russians retreated and the French continued their march.

(2) Moscow, September 14th-October 16th, 1812.

September 14th, 1812. The French entered Moscow, which its inhabitants had evacuated the day before. A fire lasting three days and three nights, and due possibly to the orders of the governor, Count Rostopchin, consumed three-fifths of the city. Napoleon found that Alexander did not submit in spite of the loss of Moscow, and the flight of the inhabitants deprived him of the means of securing supplies. In spite of the approach of winter he remained in Moscow, hoping that Alexander would come to terms.

B. The Retreat from Moscow.

(1) Muz-Yaroslavets.

The defeat of Murat by the Russians on October 18th hastened Napoleon's departure and he left Moscow the same day. He had about 100,000 men left, including recent reinforcements. To avoid striking along the line of his advance which his troops had decimated of supplies, Napoleon proposed to march on Kaluga and through the valley of the Ugra, which lay to the south of his previous route.

October 24th, 1812. The Russians were defeated at Muz-Yaroslavets, but succeeded in barring the road to Kaluga and forcing Napoleon to follow the westerly road by which he had advanced.

(2) The difficulties of the retreat.

With the exception of the Guard, the soldiers, laden with booty, observed no discipline, and the "French host resembled a horde of nomads rather than an army." Heavy snow fell; the low temperature of November 6th, when there were thirty-seven degrees of frost, led to the death of many men and horses and

the abandonment of most of the transport. The soldiers were inadequately clad and compelled to live on horseflesh. Kutsoff, whose army followed by a parallel road, avoided battle, but Cosowich inflicted many casualties and cut off supplies. The approach of new Russian armies from the Danube and the Baltic added to Napoleon's danger.

(2) The line of march.

November 26th, 1812. The French reached Smolensk, where many failed to find the supplies they needed.

November 17th, 1812. Kutsoff, having allowed Napoleon and his Guards to pass, routed the French near at Krasnoi in spite of the efforts of Ney, "the bravest of the brave." Ney joined Napoleon with about eight hundred survivors of the six thousand who composed his rearguard.

November 18th, 1812. Napoleon with great skill crossed the Berezina, but lost half of the 45,000 men who remained.

December 16th, 1812. Owing to the intense cold, which fell to forty-five degrees of frost, and to the attacks of Russian light cavalry, Napoleon's own force was reduced to 4200 men.

December 24th, 1812. Napoleon, hearing of Malet's conspiracy, left for Paris. His desertion was strongly resented by the troops.

December 13th, 1812. The French crossed the Niemen and the Russian pursuit stopped. Out of 450,000 who had crossed the river with Napoleon in June and 100,000 who had reinforced the army during its retreat, only about 20,000 remained in December. "The fourth corps d'armée of 48,000 men at last took up its quarters in one room!"¹

II. General.

(1) Causes of Napoleon's failure.

The main cause of Napoleon's failure was his grave

¹ *Russian Europe*, Dyce and Emsell, Vol. V, page 494.

strategic mistake in trying to finish in one year a campaign for which two were essential, and his worst error was the continuation of his march from Smolensk to Moscow. The intense cold and the national rising of Russia made his failure more complete.²

(3) Results.

The Russian campaign gravely injured Napoleon's reputation and encouraged the nations, and particularly Prussia, to rise against him in the War of Liberation. But Napoleon's military power, though weakened, was not annihilated; Kutuzov's blunder in allowing him and the best part of his army to escape at Krasnoi and the new armies Napoleon was able to raise in France were soon to lead to European war.

References:

- Revolutionary Europe* (Maurice Stephens), Basingstoke, pp. 305-306.
Cambridge Modern History, Vol. IX, chap. xvi.
Life of Napoleon I (Rosa), Bell and Sons.

THE WAR OF LIBERATION TO THE BATTLE OF LEIPZIG, MARCH-OCTOBER, 1813

I. Prussia Declares War on France.

The retreat from Moscow led to the rising of the Prussian nation against France. Prussia was hampered by poverty; the reorganisation commenced by Scharnhorst had been discontinued after he resigned; Frederick William III was too weak to give his subjects a strong lead and was afraid of Napoleon. But the people had gained moral power as the result of suffering and were determined to fight for their liberty. Scharnhorst and Gneisenau returned to office.

² See also page 512, III. A.

A. General von York.

(1) The Convention of Tauroggen, December, 1812.

York commanded the Prussian contingent of 20,000 men which had joined MacDonald's army in accordance with the agreement of February, 1812.¹

December 30th, 1812. York, of his own accord, concluded with the Russians the Convention of Tauroggen by which he agreed to remain neutral and to take no steps to prevent the Russian pursuit of the retreating French. York disobeyed Frederick William's command to accept the Convention, on the result of which MacDonald was compelled to evacuate Königsberg.

(2) The rising of East Prussia.

January, 1813. Stein, now adviser of Alexander I., announced the Estates of East Prussia, which were induced by York, who advocated war with France, to decide on a general levy of the population. The nation, and not the King, began the War of Liberation.

B. The Treaty of Kalisch, February, 1813.

(1) Frederick William III.

York's action and the rising in East Prussia forced Frederick William's hand.

January 22nd, 1813. The King left Berlin, which the French occupied, for Heilsbr., where he could easily communicate with Alexander.

February 3rd, 1813. The King issued an edict calling all Prussians to arms. Formation of the Landwehr.

(2) The Treaty of Kalisch.

Some Russians were unwilling to continue the war owing to their heavy losses and the fact that Napoleon had been successfully defeated. Alexander determined, largely owing to the influence of Stein, to form a European coalition against Napoleon.

February 17th, 1813. By the Treaty of Kalisch Russia and Prussia made an alliance against France, and Alexander promised that Frederick William should receive back all the territory he had lost since 1806. German princes who refused to fight the French were to be deposed.

March 17th, 1813. Frederick William III declared war on France. Owing to lack of arms and money he had only 50,000 men ready for immediate service, but volunteers poured in and large forces would be soon available.

II. The Retreat of the French.

A. Eugene retires to the Elbe.

The Russian advance drove the French back.

February, 1813. Eugene de Boucharmain, who had succeeded Murat as commander of the French, evacuated the line of the Oder, leaving garrisons in Stettin, Cöstritz and Glogau.

March 4th, 1813. The French retired from Berlin, which the Russians entered.

March 13th, 1813. The French abandoned Hamburg.

Eugene took up a position on the Elbe and, by Napoleon's orders, massed his main body around Magdeburg and Dresden.

B. Sweden joins the Allies.

Owing to the French retreat Bernadotte joined the Allies and led a Swedish army of 15,000 men into Germany. He expected, with the help of the Allies, to secure Norway and may have hoped to succeed Napoleon as King of France.

III. The First Campaign of 1813.

A. Napoleon's preparations.

In spite of the failure of the Russian campaign the Legislative Body received Napoleon with its usual acclai-

abdication. He conciliated the clergy by effecting a reconciliation with Pius VII; made the Empress Marie Louise Regent; soothed France with the plea that the country was in danger.

Napoleon was stronger than his adversaries. Italy, the Confederation of the Rhine, Saxony and Bavaria remained faithful.* Although France longed for peace, Napoleon, by a new conscription added 300,000† to the French army. Although many of the conscripts were too young to stand the strain of the campaign, Napoleon's infantry was excellent; his artillery was good, but his cavalry, at first only 18,000 men, was inadequate and there was a great scarcity of good officers.

Austria refused to join in the war and remained neutral.

B. The plan of campaign.

(1) The Allies.

a. The right.

The right wing, commanded by Wüngenstein, with York and Blücher, consisted of Prussians, Saxons and Silesians and was to advance on Magdeburg.

b. The centre.

The centre was led by Kutusoff. His illness and death delayed its advance.

c. The left.

The left, or Silesian army, consisting of Prussians and Russians, was under the command of Blücher and was to march against Dresden in the hope of winning Saxony from the French. Blücher entered Dresden in March, 1813, but finding the Saxons unwilling to rise against Napoleon marched westward to Leipzig, where he waited for Kutusoff.

* Dyer and Russell, Vol. I, page 468.

The Allies resolved to fight Napoleon near Leipzig, where the flat country would enable them to make a good use of their cavalry.

(3) **The French.**

Napoleon reached Erfurt on April 28th, 1813, and took command of all his forces. The French line extended from Hamburg and Lübeck to Verona and Venice.

Key's army lay on the lower Main, and Eugène's near Magdeburg, while a force of 40,000 Italians and Bavarians was marching north from Coburg. These forces, which numbered 145,000 men, were to fight the army of the Allies, which numbered about 80,000.

C. Lützen or Gross-Görschen, May, 1813.

May 2nd, 1813. Napoleon defeated Wittgenstein¹ and Bücher at Lützen, where Scharnhorst was killed. The Allies fell back in good order to Bautzen. Napoleon entered Dresden on May 14th, having saved Saxony by his victory.

D. Bautzen.

May 20th. Napoleon defeated Wittgenstein at Bautzen; but the Allies, protected by their strong cavalry, retreated without losing a gun.

[May 30th, 1813. The French, under Davout, recovered Hamburg.]

E. The Armistice of Pläswitz, June, 1813.

If Napoleon had pursued his pursuit of the Allies he would probably have won the war, for the Allies were dispirited by their defeats and long retreat and suffering seriously from privation due to lack of supplies; the Russian and Prussian commanders were continually quarrelling, and the Allies seemed likely to be driven into neutral territory.

¹ Who had succeeded Kutusoff.

But Napoleon's marshals were anxious for peace; he had lost more men than the Allies; he had used up his ammunition and his supplies were running short. He needed to strengthen his country, and he feared that Austria, whose strength he overestimated, would turn against him.

June 4th, 1813: Napoleon made the Armistice of Plattsburg with the Allies. The armistice lasted seven weeks and was one of the greatest of Napoleon's errors. It gave time for the Allies to regain steadiness and to receive large reinforcements from Prussia and Russia.

IV. Austria Joins the Allies.

A. Metternich's views.

The views of Austria did not coincide with those of the Allies. Metternich was not anxious to dethrone Napoleon, the son-in-law of the Emperor Francis I; he did not wish Russia, the old rival of Austria, to become too strong; he feared that Prussia, if victorious, might become the leader of Germany and regarded the national rising in Prussia as revolutionary. He wished to establish a new system in which neither Russia nor France should be too strong and to use his opportunity to regain for Austria the provinces lost in 1806.¹

Napoleon tried to win over Austria by promising to restore not only the Illyrian provinces, but Silesia, which Frederick the Great had taken from her. The Emperor refused his offer.

B. The Treaty of Reichenbach, June, 1813.

(1) Terms.

June 27th, 1813. By the Treaty of Reichenbach Russia, Prussia and Austria agreed that the Grand Duchy of Warsaw and the Confederation of the Rhine should be abolished; that Austria should receive Illyria; that Prussia should receive all territory she

¹ Page 461.

had lost since 1806; that France should restore the North German territory she had taken in 1810. If Napoleon refused these terms Austria would declare war on him.

(3) Criticism.

The Treaty shows that Stein's plan for a national union of Germany had been rejected. "The conception of the war changed from a national uprising to a coalition of the usual type."¹

(3) The Congress of Prague.

July 15th–August 10th, 1813. At the Congress of Prague Napoleon's representative, Caulaincourt, refused those terms which would have left to Napoleon Italy, Belgium, the Rhine frontier and the Protectorate of Western Germany.

August 15th, 1813. Austria declared war.

V. The Second Campaign of 1813.

A. The aim of the Allies.

Three armies were organised: the northern army under Bernadotte in Prussia; the main army in Bohemia under Schwarzenberg; the Silesian army under Blücher. A fourth army, "The Army of Poland," was being formed by Bennigsen. The three armies already in the field were to converge upon Dresden. They were to attack only if superior in numbers; if one was threatened by a larger French force it was to fall back.

B. Napoleon's plan failed.

Napoleon, who had about 100,000 men to oppose about 600,000, determined to attack the three armies separately before they could unite.

August 22nd, 1813. Bernadotte defeated Ordine at Gross Beeren and saved Berlin.

¹ Morn Stephens.

August 26th, 1813. Blücher defeated Macdonald at Katzbach and drove the French out of Silesia.

C. Dresden, Kulm and Dennewitz, 1813.

(1) Dresden.

August 26th-27th, 1813. Schwarzenberg's main army attacked the French at Dresden without waiting for the other armies and was utterly routed by Napoleon.

(2) Kulm.

August 30th, 1813. Vandamme, who was trying to cut Schwarzenberg's communications in Bohemia, was routed by the Russians under Barclay at Kulm. Schwarzenberg was saved from pursuit.

(3) Dennewitz.

September 6th, 1813. Ney, striking at Berlin, was routed by Bernadotte and Blücher at Dennewitz.

The importance of the disaster of Dresden was diminished by the victories at Kulm and Dennewitz; Napoleon had failed to break away from his defensive position; the ring of allied armies began to close round him at Leipzig; he had lost nearly 180,000 men between August 18th and 26th and had only 180,000 men to oppose 450,000.

D. The Treaty of Teplitz and Ried.

September 9th, 1813. By the Treaty of Teplitz Austria, Prussia and Russia agreed that the Confederation of the Rhine should be dissolved, all the territories they had held since 1806 should be restored to Austria and Prussia, and the states of Southern and Western Germany should be recognised as independent.

October 8th, 1813. By the Treaty of Ried the Allies undertook to recognise the sovereign rights of the King of Bavaria, who was to give up the Tyrol to Austria. The King joined the Allies and sent a Bavarian force under General Wrede towards the Rhine.

Thus the position of the Allies was strengthened, but the union of Germany rendered more difficult.

B. The Battle of Leipzig, October 18th-19th, 1813.

Blücher crossed the Elbe at Wartenburg on October 3rd and effected a junction with Bernadotte on October 7th; Napoleon, who had hoped to make use of his inner lines to defeat the Allies separately, was obliged to fall back on Leipzig and fight a decisive battle against Blücher and Schwarzenberg, who attacked from the north and south respectively.

From the strategical point of view Blücher's success in forcing the line of the Elbe was the most crucial action of the campaign.

October 15th. Napoleon repulsed Schwarzenberg, but Blücher routed Marmont at Böckern.

October 17th. The Army of Poland under Bennigsen joined the Allies.

October 18th. The Saxons and Württembergers deserted Napoleon and joined the Allies. The French fought bravely against vastly superior forces, but lost so heavily that they were driven back.

October 19th. The Allies stormed Leipzig.

The remains of Napoleon's army retreated at Hagen; the Bavarians who, on October 30th, tried to cut off their retreat and on November 2nd crossed the Rhine at Mainz. In the "Battle of the Nations" Napoleon lost 70,000 men, including 20,000 prisoners, and the Allies had 54,000 casualties.

"Within a little more than a year, two French armies, amounting to nearly a million of men, had perished."

Schlossens (see page 330).

THE WAR OF LIBERATION.

THE ALLIES INVADE FRANCE

I. Events after the Battle of Leipzig.

A. General rising against Napoleon.

The battle of Leipzig was followed by a general rising

against Napoleon. Bonaire went to help the Dutch, who under the Prince of Orange, rose against the French; Lord William Bentinck sailed with a British force from Sicily to help the Genoese; the Austrians routed Eugène de Beauharnais at Valmaria in Northern Italy on October 25th; the Princes of the Rhine joined the Allies and descended from Westphalia.

B. The Conditions of Frankfurt, November, 1813.

But Austria was unwilling to sacrifice more men and money to secure the overthrow of Napoleon, which might unduly strengthen Russia and Prussia; Bernadotte was unwilling to invade France; Frederick William III was desirous of peace. Although Alexander was anxious to invade France in revenge for Napoleon's attack on Moscow and Blücher, Gneisenau and the British Government strongly supported him, the armies of the Allies needed rest.

November 1st, 1813. Mainly owing to Metternich the Allies offered at Frankfurt to make peace with Napoleon if he would surrender all France had won beyond the Rhine, Alps and Pyrenees. Napoleon refused the offer, which would have left Belgium, Nice and Savoy as French possessions.

II. The Invasion of France.

Napoleon's refusal to accept the terms offered at Frankfurt led to the invasion of France. Great Britain had helped the Allies with subsidies; she had always aimed at excluding the French from the Belgian Netherlands and strongly resented the proposed cession of Belgium and Antwerp to France. On December 21st, 1813, Castlereagh was sent to the Allies with absolute power, and his arrival strengthened the opposition to Napoleon.

A. Napoleon's Difficulties.

Napoleon was in difficulties. He had lost the support

of the Princes of the Rhine ; he had brought back only 70,000 out of the 400,000 men who had recently fought in Germany ; he had left in Germany about 150,000 veteran soldiers to guard the fortresses the French held ; he lacked arms and ammunition ; his marshals had disappointed him.

The French were weary of war, and new conscripts, many of them boys of sixteen, came in slowly. The French were becoming unwilling to support the Empire, which had substituted for the principles of the Revolution, the tyranny of one man and had suppressed individual liberty. The Legislative Body, hitherto subservient, passed a resolution on December 19th, 1812, imploring Napoleon "to see to the constant and effectual execution of those laws by which liberty, personal security and the rights of private property are assured to every Frenchman, and to the nation at large the unfettered exercise of its political rights."

B. The plan of the Allies.

Part of Bernadotte's army was to march into Holland and invade France from the North ; Blücher's Army of Elbe was to cross the Rhine about Mainz and march on Paris. The Austrian army under Schwarzenberg was to march through Switzerland, thus turning the Jura mountains and avoiding the French fortresses on the Rhine, to unite with the Army of Italy and with Wellington (who had passed the Nive and was threatening Bayona) to occupy the plateau of Langres in Champagne and then march on Paris.

December 31st 1812. Blücher crossed the Rhine with the Army of Silesia, the main Prussian army.

January 18th, 1813. Schwarzenberg reached Langres.

[January 16th, 1814. By the Peace of Kiel, Denmark ceded Norway to Sweden in exchange for Swedish Pomerania.]

III. The First Campaign of 1814.

Napoleon, with about 60,000 troops, fought a brilliant campaign against vastly superior forces. The unexpected advance of the Allies in the winter compelled him to abandon the French frontiers: he concentrated his forces in Champagne between the armies of Blücher and Schwarzenberg, used the rivers Marne, Seine and Aube to cover his movements, and by most skillful and rapid manoeuvring inflicted a number of defeats on the armies of Blücher and Schwarzenberg.

A. Napoleon's victories.

(1) Blücher.

January 25th-February 14th, 1814. Napoleon defeated Blücher's army at Brienne, was heavily defeated by Blücher at La Rothière, won battles at Champagney, Montmirail and Vauchamps.

The Army of Silesia was broken up. It failed partly because Blücher wisely scattered his forces in Champagne, partly because Schwarzenberg did not render him efficient help.

(2) Schwarzenberg.

Schwarzenberg moved slowly and, believing that Napoleon was finally defeated at La Rothière, refused to pursue him. But he was compelled to advance to save Blücher's army from annihilation.

February 18th, 1814. Napoleon routed Schwarzenberg at Montereau. Schwarzenberg retreated, but a victory gained by Blücher over Marmont at Sénaux compelled Napoleon, who became anxious for the safety of Paris, to give up the pursuit of Schwarzenberg.

B. The Congress of Chaumont.

(1) Differences among the Allies.

Serious differences had arisen between the Austrians, who feared that the overthrust of Napoleon might

led to the extension of Russian power in Poland, and Alexander, who was determined to take revenge on Napoleon. The tact of Castlereagh brought about the Congress of Châtillon, which first met on February 26th, 1814.

(5) Terms.

The Allies had found that the French, even Napoleon's marshals, were anxious for peace; their invasion had proved successful and Wellington was threatening Bayona. They now offered less favourable terms than at Frankfurt and demanded, as a condition of peace, that France should be limited to the boundaries of 1791; this involved the surrender of Belgium, Savoy, Nice and the left bank of the Rhine.

Owing to his recent successes, and particularly his victory at Montebello, Napoleon, who especially resented the proposed cession of Belgium, ordered Castlereagh to refuse the terms.

IV. The Second Campaign of 1814.

A. The Treaty of Chaumont.

Schwarzenberg was so terrified by Napoleon's success that he wished to withdraw the Austrians from France. But Alexander and Frederick William insisted on the continuance of the war, and, again owing to Castlereagh's influence, the Allies made the Treaty of Chaumont on March 1st, 1814. By this Great Britain, Austria, Prussia and Russia agreed each to provide 180,000 men, while Great Britain also gave to the other three parties a subsidy of £5,000,000 a year. No one of the Allies was to make a separate peace with Napoleon, and the war was to continue until France was reduced to the boundaries of 1791.

B. The Campaign.

The Allies now determined to attack Paris. Blücher advancing along the Marne and Schwarzenberg along the Seine.

(1) Elber.

Blücher and the Russian general Wittgensteed had helped to drive the French from Holland when Cauterpoigh ordered them to march south to reinforce Blücher's Blücher army, which had been reduced by recent defeats from 80,000 to 30,000 men. Blücher, hard pressed by the French, fell back to meet these reinforcements.

March 7th, 1814. Napoleon defeated Blücher's vanguard at Craonne.

March 9th, 1814. Blücher had now concentrated all his forces and defeated Napoleon at Laon.

(2) Schwarzenberg.

Napoleon having failed to check the Prussians now marched south against Schwarzenberg.

March 20th, 1814. Schwarzenberg ordered Napoleon at Arcis-sur-Aube. Napoleon, finding Schwarzenberg too strong for another frontal attack, now marched to Schwarzenberg's rear, hoping with the help of the frontier garrisons and Angereau's army at Lyons, to cut the Austrian communications and perhaps to invade Germany.

(3) The Allies capture Paris.

Schwarzenberg and Blücher, in spite of the threat to their rear, realising that the capture of Paris would mean the overthrow of Napoleon, pushed on to Paris.

March 30th, 1814. Defeat of Marmont and Mortier in the suburbs of Paris.

March 31st, 1814. Alexander and Frederick William entered Paris. Napoleon, on learning that the Allies were marching on Paris, had hurried after them, but failed to catch them. He wished to continue the war, but his marshals refused to support him, and Marmont put his army at the disposal of the Provisional Government which had been set up with Talleyrand as President.

April 6th, 1814. Napoleon abdicated and made with the Allies the Treaty of Fontainebleau, by which he renounced for himself and his son all claim to the crowns of Italy and Austria in return for the Imperial title, a pension of 2,000,000 francs, the Principality of Elba, the grant of the Duchies of Parma and Piacenza to Marie Louise with reversion to her son.

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THE RESTORATION OF LOUIS XVIII AND THE HUNDRED DAYS

I. The Return of Louis XVIII.¹

Talleyrand supported the restoration of Louis XVIII, partly on the ground that the Bourbons were the legitimate sovereigns of France, partly because he felt that a regency would lead to the early return of Napoleon. He secured the support of Alexander I, and the Comte d'Artois assured him that Louis would accept the new Constitution made by the Senate on April 6th, 1814.

A. Louis XVIII.

May 3rd, 1814. Louis XVIII entered Paris accompanied by his niece the Duchess d'Angoulême, the daughter of Louis XVI.

Louis had lived for some time in exile at Hartwell in Buckinghamshire. He was a studious, tactful man of kindly disposition; he had taken no share in the wild schemes of the *émigrés*; his indolence and corpulence

¹ The title of Louis XVI was given to the Dauphin, who died a prisoner in the Temple, June 19th, 1793.

made him avowse from violent effort; he regarded himself as King by divine right but was willing, as an act of royal grace, to grant to his people constitutional privileges. The Duchesse d'Angoulême, who had been embittered by the tragedy of her youth, cheered by her vigorous collapse the enthusiasm her return to Paris had inspired. **

B. The First Treaty of Paris, May, 1814.

May 30th, 1814. The Treaty of Paris made between the Allies and the representatives of France provided—

- (1) That France should be allowed to retain the treasures of art which Napoleon had acquired and should be limited to the frontier of 1792, with the addition of Montebellard, Avignon, Clermont and Annecy.

France then surrendered the left bank of the Rhine, Belgium and all the territory she had gained in Italy, Germany, Holland and Switzerland.

- (2) Great Britain returned most of the colonies she had recently gained, but kept Malta, Tobago, St. Lucia and the Isle of France.
- (3) Switzerland was to be independent.
- (4) Belgium was to be united to Holland, of which the House of Orange were to be sovereign.

Thus the old policy of Great Britain was resumed and the Netherlands again became a barrier against French aggression.

- (5) Germany was to become a federation of independent states. This clause would prevent both the revival of the Empire and the realisation of Stein's plan of forming a united Germany.
- (6) Italy was to consist of independent states excluding territory to be ceded to Austria.

(7) *Secret clauses.*

The Allies, without reference to France, agreed that Austria should receive Venetia and Savilian Genua.

(8) The final settlement of Europe was to be made at a Congress to be held shortly at Vienna.

C. The Charter, June, 1814.

June 4th, 1814. Louis XVIII refused to accept the Constitution drawn up by the Senate, but "granted" a Charter which provided for the establishment of a House of hereditary Peers nominated by the King, and a Chamber of Deputies; the right of initiative and legislation was vested in the Crown, but the consent of the Deputies was necessary for taxation; freedom of worship was accorded to all; the land settlement of the Revolution was maintained; the liberty of the press, subject to penalties for abuse, was asserted; the jury system was to be retained and the judges were to be independent.

Thus the advantages secured by the Revolution, were assumed by royal favour, but the idea that Monarchy was a contract between King and People was repudiated.

II. The Return of Napoleon.

A. Growing unpopularity of Louis XVIII.

Although the majority of the people acquiesced in the return of Louis, he had failed to win their enthusiastic support, and there was a general feeling that the glory of France was gone. France bitterly resented the loss of Belgium and other conquered territories. The financial problem was difficult; there was a deficit of over 500,000 francs, France was impoverished and the taxable area had diminished. But Berni Louis adopted a wise and successful financial policy, and the King might have kept his throne but for the despots, more repellant than the King, who, led by the Comte d'Artois, tried to strengthen their position by administrative changes and,

in the more extreme cases, advocated the abolition of the Revolutionary settlement and a return to the *Ancien Régime*.

(i) The Army.

a. The restoration of the White Cockade.

Great indignation was caused by the substitution of the White Cockade for the Tricolor, under which so many great victories had been won.

b. The Household Corps.

The Household Corps of the Bourbons was revived, and in it many young propagators obtained good positions and high pay. This arrangement alienated the Imperial Guard, whose status was reduced, and embittered many of Napoleon's veterans who had been placed on half pay, often to make room for a returned soldier.

c. The substitution of the Order of St. Louis for the Legion of Honour as the sole military order; the addition of another foreign regiment at a time when the number of French soldiers was being reduced; the proposed suppression of schools for soldiers' daughters and of the military schools of St. Cyr and St. Germain; the appointment as Minister of War of General Dupont, who had surrendered at Baylen;¹ added to the growing discontent.

(2) The Church.

Ordinances were issued prohibiting all work on Sundays and Church festivals, and authorising religious processions which had been forbidden by law. These ordinances, which were withdrawn under popular pressure, were regarded as an attempt to violate, in favour of the Roman Catholic Church, the religious toleration granted by the Charter.

¹ Page 426.

(2) The Government and the Charter.

A feeling grew that the Government was not loyal to the Charter. A scheme for the censorship of the press led to violent opposition; it was believed that the Government meant to evict present holders of property in favour of the émigrés to whose families it had formerly belonged; a flood of pamphlets aggravated the growing unrest.

B. Napoleon's return, March, 1815.

(1) Landing of Napoleon.

Napoleon knew of the increasing unpopularity of the Bourbons and thought that differences between the Powers would soon lead to the dissolution of the Congress of Vienna. Without any preliminary plot he landed near Cannes on March 1st, 1815. The beginning of "The Hundred Days."

(2) The march to Paris.

Avoiding the coast road owing to the strong Royalist sympathies of Toulon and Marseilles, he marched north through Dauphiné, where he was welcomed by the peasants, who hoped that the Bourbons would make them restore the lands which had once belonged to the Church. Royal troops which had been sent to stop him joined his army.

March 5th, 1815. Napoleon entered Grenoble without opposition and declared that he had come "to save France from the outrages of the returning nobles; to secure to the peasant the possession of his land," to prevent the re-establishment of the old burdens and to "give France peace without and liberty within."

March 10th, 1815. Napoleon entered Lyons, assumed the position of Emperor and issued edicts annulling all the appointments in the State and army which Louis XVIII had made.

March 14th, 1815. Ney, who had been sent to

arrest Napoleon and had declared that he would "bring Napoleon back to Paris in an iron cage," joined him at Arcore.

March 18th, 1815. Louis XVIII fled to Ghent.

March 20th, 1815. Napoleon entered Paris.

Napoleon owed his successful return partly to the military support he received from the soldiers, partly to the support of the people; "from the time when Napoleon left Ghent's, the nation at large was on his side."

II. Napoleon's Policy.

The Royalists offered little resistance. The Duchess d'Angoulême in vain tried to induce Bonaparte to rise against Napoleon; her husband failed in his attempt to recover Lyons; the Duke of Bourbon failed to stir up a rising in La Vendée.

A. The constitution of France.

(1) Ministers.

Napoleon secured the help of most of his former ministers. Davout became Minister for War; Carnot, who had of late been out of favour with Napoleon, was made Minister of the Interior to win over the Republicans; Fouché became Minister of Police.

(2) The Acte Additionel, April, 1815.

April 25th, 1815. By the Acte Additionel, Napoleon practically re-enacted the Charter, but made the Chamber of Peers hereditary and abolished the recently instituted censorship of the press. On the demand of Lafayette, the leader of the Liberal party, Napoleon summoned the Chambers to meet early in June.

(3) The "Champ de Mai."

June 1st, 1815. On the Champ de Mars Napoleon took an oath of fidelity to the Constitution and reviewed his troops.

B. Military measures.

(1) War inevitable.

The news of Napoleon's return united the Allies at Vienna. On March 13th, 1815, they outlawed Napoleon and declared him "the enemy and destroyer of the peace of the world." Great Britain, Prussia, Austria and Russia made a new offensive alliance against Napoleon and each undertook to supply 150,000 troops; Great Britain also gave her allies a subsidy of £8,000,000. Austria and Great Britain rejected Napoleon's overtures, and he saw he would have to fight against Western Europe.

(2) Napoleon's forces.

Napoleon raised 200,000 men by March. But, although his veterans joined him, Napoleon found that France was strongly opposed to war and feared to call for conscripts until June; he proposed to raise 204,000 National Guards, but by June 15th had secured only 135,000.

Although most of the soldiers were eager for war, Napoleon's mistakes were obvious and he had no allies, for his brother-in-law Murat, King of Naples, who had risen against the Austrians in Italy, had been routed at Tolentino on May 3rd, 1815.

IV. The Waterloo Campaign.

A. The plan of campaign of the Allies.

The Allies agreed that France should be invaded from the North by the British under Wellington and the Prussians under Blücher; from the East by the Russians under Alexander, who was to cross the middle Rhine, and the Austrians under Schwarzenberg, who were to cross the upper Rhine.

(1) Wellington.

Wellington was called from the Congress of Vienna to take command at Brussels. He had in June a total

forces of 100,000 men, including British, Belgians, Dutch and Germans; of these 30,000 were British. His line extended from Mons to Ghent, and he occupied Antwerp, Ostend and other fortresses with 50,000 of his troops.

(2) Blücher.

In June, Blücher had 110,000 men, of whom the majority were Prussians. His line extended from Liège to Charleroi.

(3) Napoleon's plan.

Napoleon knew that the immediate danger lay in the Netherlands, for the Austrians could not arrive for some time, and the Russians had hardly left Russia. He resolved to attack with all speed the junction point of the British and Prussians, who were extended over a front of one hundred miles, in the hope that he would prevent the complete union of Blücher with Wellington, and then to drive Blücher eastward towards Liège. He would then attempt to drive Wellington out of Brussels and might hope to cut him off from the sea by an attack on his western flank.

B. Liège and Quatre Bras.

Moving rapidly with 125,000 men, Napoleon on June 16th, 1815, drove Zieten's corps, which formed the extreme right of the Prussian army, out of Charleroi.

(i) Liège, June 16th, 1815.

Blücher, although he had not time to collect all his forces, determined to make a stand at Liège. Wellington concentrated his forces eastward to cover Brussels and support Blücher, but, owing to Napoleon's rapid advance, failed to join Blücher and was compelled to fight at Quatre Bras.

Napoleon drove Blücher out of Liège; but d'Erlon's army corps, which had been sent by Ney to support Napoleon, was recalled to help Ney at

Quatre Bras and the Prussians withdrew from Liège without being pursued. Napoleon thus lost a great chance of overthrowing the Allies.

Blücher withdrew not eastward towards his base at Liège, as Napoleon expected, but northward towards Wavre to facilitate a junction with Wellington.

(2) Quatre Bras, June 16th, 1815.

Ney's attack on Wellington at Quatre Bras was repulsed; d'Erlon failed to return from Liège in time to give Ney the help which would probably have helped him to defeat Wellington.

(3) Greengrass.

Napoleon had separated the British from the Prussians. He now sent Grouchy to prevent the Prussians from coming to help Wellington, whom he resolved to attack with his main force.

C. Waterloo, Sunday, June 18th, 1815.

(1) The position and strength of the opposing armies.

Wellington, relying on Blücher's promise of help, drew up his forces on the crest of a low hill, Mont St. Jean; the line consisted of infantry and artillery and was two miles long. His cavalry were posted in reserve in the rear of the centre on the reverse slope. On his right was the chateau of Hougoumont; the farm of La Haye Sainte lay sixty yards in front of his centre; the hamlets of La Haye and Papelotte lay in front of his extreme left.

Napoleon occupied the opposite ridge; the farm of La Belle Alliance, on the road from Charleroi to Brussels formed the centre of his position; the hamlet of Planchenoit lay behind his right centre. Two lines of infantry formed his front; they were supported by most of his cavalry; the Imperial Guard were kept in reserve in the rear.

Wellington had 67,000 men, of whom 24,000 were

British and the rest Brunswickian, Hanoverian, Dutch, and Belgians, the last of whom were untrustworthy. It was "a motley array at best," in which five languages were spoken. Napoleon had 75,000, mostly veterans, and was greatly superior in artillery and cavalry.

(2) Tactics.

Wellington received no aid on the defensive until the appearance of Blücher, whom he expected at once. Napoleon determined to attack the British line in column; he wished to break through the British left to drive Wellington westward and place his army between the British and Prussians.

Napoleon delayed his attack until the sun had dried the muddy ground sufficiently to admit of rapid manoeuvres. This delay was of vital importance, as it gave the Prussians, whom Grouchy had failed to cut off, more time to join Wellington.

(3) The battle.

11.30 a.m. The French, in order to divert Wellington's attention from his left, attacked Hougoumont, which was defended all day by two battalions of the Guards, who held up the French left.

1.30 p.m. Picton's infantry and two brigades of heavy cavalry repulsed D'Erton's attack on La Haye Sainte, but lost heavily owing to their too eager pursuit. But their success saved the day as the Prussians were drawing near, and Napoleon sent 10,000 men from his main army to stop them.

4.0-6.0 p.m. Ney led four cavalry charges against the British and Hanoverians forming Wellington's right centre, who formed squares to meet them. In spite of the fury of the cavalry, the very heavy losses caused by the French artillery and the harassing fire of French sharpshooters the squares stood firm.

4.30 p.m. Blücher's Prussians, who had been delayed

by faulty staff work, engaged the French right. Napoleon drew up his reserves under Lobau at right angles to his main line and recovered Planchenoit, which Blücher had taken.

6.30 p.m. D'Erlon captured La Haye Sainte and thus made a breach in the British line, but his men were too exhausted to advance further. Napoleon was unable to send the infantry reinforcements d'Erlon needed: he made a serious mistake in not sending his reserve of Guards.

By this time Ziethen's corps had got into touch with the British left and Wellington was enabled to establish a solid front.

8.0 p.m. Napoleon, realising the grave danger from the Prussians, sent the Imperial Guard in two columns supported by all the infantry available against the British right and centre. The rifle fire of Maitland's Guards broke the French columns; a flank attack of the 52nd Regiment under Colborne added to their disorder; the cavalry brigades of Vivian and Vandamme, Wellington's last reserve, fell on them as they retreated; Wellington now ordered the whole line to advance and it secured the French position without opposition.

8.0 p.m. (about). Ziethen broke through the north-eastern point of the French front between d'Erlon and Lobau. Ziethen's cavalry met Vivian and Vandamme in La Belle Alliance. The British were too tired for further efforts, but the Prussians vigorously pursued the routed French. Napoleon lost about 25,000 in killed, wounded and prisoners. Wellington lost 12,000 men, including 7000 British; the Prussians lost 6000.

V. The Second Treaty of Paris, November, 1815.

A. The abdication of Napoleon.

June 21st, 1815. Napoleon reached Paris. On the

news of his defeat the Chambers called out the National Guard to defend them and demanded that Napoleon should abdicate.

June 22nd, 1815. Napoleon refused to assume a dictatorship and dissolve the Chambers, as Louis advised, and abdicated in favour of his son.

B. The Allies take Paris.

(1) Louis XVIII.

On Wellington's advice Louis XVIII entered France and was soon accepted as King by most of Northern France.

(2) Paris.

A Provisional Government which had been established at Paris under the leadership of Fouché and Talleyrand asked for an armistice, but Blücher and Wellington refused, as they thought that Napoleon, who remained at Malmaison from June 22nd-23rd, might win over the army at Paris and continue the war.

July 2nd, 1815. Wellington and Blücher entered Paris.

July 8th, 1815. Louis XVIII returned to the Tuileries.

July 15th, 1815. Napoleon, having failed to escape to America, surrendered to Captain Maitland on the *Bellerophon*.

C. The Second Treaty of Paris.

The moderate terms imposed by the Allies in the First Treaty of Paris¹ were due to the fact that they were fighting Napoleon and not France. But the whole nation, and not only the army, had supported Napoleon in the recent campaign, and some of the Allies favoured strong measures. Prussia demanded that Alsace and Lorraine and French Flanders should be given up by France, as the possession of the Rhine bottomlands would facilitate a French invasion of Germany. Alexander and

¹ Page 431.

Wellington held that the union of these provinces would probably lead to the overthrow of Louis XVIII and the renewal of war, and Austria feared that France might get too large a share of the spoil.

November 20th, 1815. The Second Treaty of Paris provided that—

- (1) France should be reduced to the limits of 1793. She kept Artois and the Vosges, but ceded Chambery and part of Savoy to Sardinia and some districts to Switzerland.
- (2) France should pay an indemnity of 700,000,000 francs and maintain, at a cost of 250,000,000 francs a year, Allied armies which were to hold some of her frontier fortresses for five years.
- (3) France was to restore to their former owners all the works of art she had taken in recent years.

The terms of the Treaty were moderate; France lost very little territory; the indignation caused by the last clause was unreasonableness.

D. St. Helena.

Ribier, who had with difficulty been dissuaded by Wellington from blowing up the Bridge of Jena and compelling the people of Paris to pay 150,000,000 francs, wished to shoot Napoleon.

August 25th, 1815. Napoleon was sent to St. Helena, which was too far away to enable him easily to return to France.

References:

- Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. IX, chaps. XXV, XX.
Napoleon. The Last Phase (Lord Rosebery), chaps. V-VIII.
Life of Napoleon I (Holland Rose), chaps. XXXVII-XXX.

THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA NOVEMBER 1st, 1814-JUNE 8th, 1815

In accordance with the First Treaty of Paris a Congress met at Vienna on November 1st, 1814, to settle the affairs of Europe. Every Christian state in Europe was represented. The Emperors of Austria and Russia, the Kings of Prussia, Denmark, Bavaria and Württemberg and many German princes, including the Elector of Hesse, the Grand Duke of Baden and the Dukes of Saxe-Weimar, Brunswick and Coburg, attended in person. Castlereagh and, later, Wellington represented England, Talleyrand and Dubouché France, Levasseur Spain, Cardinal Consalvi the Pope, and Bernadotte Sweden. Metternich was President, and his colleague Gentz secretary. Hardenberg the Prussian Chancellor, Nesseltode the Russian Foreign Secretary, Wiede the Bavarian Field-Marshal, and Stein, who held no official position, were conspicuous figures.

The Emperor Francis acted as host, and Austria, although bankrupt, spent \$10,000 a day on lavish entertainments which seriously interfered with business and provoked the statement "Le congrès donne mais il ne marche pas."

I. Difficult Problems.

The Allies were united only in common hostility to Napoleon. The overthrow of Napoleon led to serious differences between them.

Austria resented the growing power of Russia and objected to any increase in territory which might give Prussia a commanding position in Germany.

The Four Great Powers—Russia, Prussia, Austria and Great Britain—determined to settle questions relating to Poland, Germany and Italy among themselves.

Grave differences arose on particular points.

A. The Grand Duchy of Warsaw.

Alexander wished to secure the whole of Poland; Prussia and Austria claimed a share owing to the Partitions of Poland.¹

B. Saxony.

Prussia claimed the whole of Saxony, and Alexander, who, by the Treaty of Kalisch,² 1813, had agreed that Prussia should be restored to her boundaries of 1806, supported her claim to Saxony as compensation for the loss of territory in Poland.

C. Italy.

Great Britain had promised to secure the independence of Genoa, which Sardinia was anxious to secure. She favoured the idea of the unity of Italy, while Austria was determined to secure Venetia.

Differences arose as to the recognition of Murat as King of Naples, of which Ferdinand IV claimed to be the legitimate sovereign.

D. Germany.

The "mediated"³ princes feared that their interests might be prejudiced by the establishment of a federation of the greater states.

II. The Revival of French Influence.

A. The Committee of Eight.

Talleyrand, as representative of Louis XVIII, the legitimate King of France, claimed that as peace had been made France should not be excluded from a concert of European powers; protested against the attempt of the Four Great Powers to manage the affairs of the Congress without reference to France. He succeeded in securing a place for France in the Committee of Eight (France, Great Britain, Russia, Austria; Prussia, Sweden, Spain and Portugal) which formed the Preliminary Committee of the Congress.

¹ Page 194, 202, 212.² Page 208.³ Page 451.

B. Division of the Four Great Powers.

Largely owing to the skilful diplomacy of Talleyrand, who tried to make France the champion of the smaller states, Great Britain, Austria and France united against Russia and Prussia.

C. Saxony.

Talleyrand "made the defence of the King of Saxony the centre of his policy." He asserted that Frederick Augustus, whose house during the eighteenth century had been closely associated with France, was the legitimate King of Saxony and strongly opposed the attempt of Prussia, supported by Russia, to secure the whole of Saxony. He was strongly supported by popular feeling in Saxony and by the smaller German states, especially Bavaria.

D. Poland.

In November, 1814, Frederick William agreed to support Alexander's policy. Metternich therefore refused to agree to the acquisition by Prussia of more than one-fifth of Saxony and was assured by Talleyrand that he would be supported by a French army, if necessary. Austrian troops marched towards Galicia, and a partial mobilisation of the French army was carried out.

E. The Defensive Triple Alliance, January, 1815.

Catharine resorted to the aggression of Russia and the subservience of Prussia; the King of Bavaria and the minor German states feared that the aggrandisement of Prussia would make her a preponderant in Germany and weaken their own independence.

January 2nd, 1815. The Defensive Triple Alliance was made against Russia and Prussia by Great Britain, France and Austria and was afterwards joined by Hanover, the Netherlands, Bavaria, Sardinia and Rome-Darmstadt.

F. The triumph of Talleyrand.

A European war seemed imminent. But on January 11th Talleyrand was admitted to the meeting of the Four Powers, which now became Five by the addition of France. The resolute action of the Five and a growing tendency to compromise led to the settlement of the questions of Poland and Saxony. Talleyrand had not only secured the recognition of France as a Fifth Great Power, but had broken the cohesion of the alliance formed against her and made her the arbiter of the Congress.

III. The Final Settlement.

The settlement of the territory of Europe made by the Congress of Vienna and the Second Peace of Paris was of great importance.

A. Prussia.

(1) Territory gained.

Prussia received about half of Saxony, the Grand Duchy of Berg and a portion of the Duchy of Westphalia; that part of Poland she had gained by the first two Partitions and also the provinces of Posen and the cities of Danzig and Thorn; she failed to secure the fortresses of Luxembourg and Mainz which she had claimed, but obtained territory on the left bank of the Rhine between Biele and Coblenz, including Cologne, Trèves and Aix-la-Chapelle; Prussia also gained Swedish Pomerania, and the King of Prussia was recognised as Prince of Neuchâtel.

(2) Criticism.

Her new acquisitions made Prussia twice as great as she had been in the time of Frederick II. Her territories on the Rhine, which ultimately proved of great value, made her the "bulwark of Germany against France"; the addition of a large Catholic population which had long been under French

influence brought her into greater sympathy with Southern Germany. Although the acquisition of part of Saxony evoked justifiable resentment against Prussia, the Congress of Vienna had made the German element in her population more predominant and "had brought her into co-operation or contact with almost every German interest." She had materially improved her chances of ultimately securing the leadership of Germany.

B. Austria.

(1) Germany and Poland.

Austria received from Bavaria the Tyrol and Salzburg; in Poland she kept Eastern Galicia; while Cracow, which threatened her eastern frontier, was made into a free city.

(2) Italy.

Austria received Venetia, Lombardy, Myria (Chiosia, Corfu and Trieste), Dalmatia and the seaport of Cattaro.

(3) Criticism.

Although Austria was to be President of the new German Diet, her gains in Germany were inferior to those of Prussia. Her acquisitions in Italy made her an important maritime power and were destined seriously to hinder the development of Italian unity.

C. The German States.

(1) The Federal Act.

a. Terms.

Germany was organised into thirty-eight states; Austria and Prussia joined only for the old Imperial territory they held, Denmark for Holstein and Lauenburg and the Netherlands for Luxemburg. The Diet of the Confederation, of which Austria was to be President,

consisted of the Ordinary Assembly sitting permanently at Frankfurt and a General Assembly. Each state was given independence in its internal affairs, but war between individual states was forbidden and the concept of the Confederacy was necessary for foreign war.

A. Criticism.

The rights of the mediatized princes were protected. Germany became a Confederation, not, as Stein advocated, a united nation. The ecclesiastical states disappeared. Although each ruler was required to establish constitutional government in his state, no provision was made for compelling an unwilling prince to establish constitutional rule. The Confederation, like the old Empire, lacked centralization, and it would find difficulty in compelling Austria and Prussia to carry out its decrees.

(2) Bavaria.

Bavaria received Rhenish Bavaria, which extended from the Franconian territory on the Rhine to Alsace and included Mainz.

(3) Hanover.

Hanover became a kingdom and received East Prussia and Hildesheim.

D. Russia.

Russia failed to secure the whole of Poland, but obtained most of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, which was called the Kingdom of Poland. Russia kept Finland.

E. Italy.

(1) The Two Sicilies.

Ferdinand IV was recognized as King of the Two Sicilies.

(2) Pope Pius VII.

The Pope's demand for the restoration of Avignon was refused, but he received the Legation of Bologna and most of Ferrara.

(3) Tuscany and Modena.

Tuscany was assigned to the Grand Duke Ferdinand, uncle of the Emperor Francis, and Modena to the Archduke Francesco d'Este, both Hapsburg princes.

(4) Parma, Piacenza and Guastalla.

These were granted to the Empress Marie Louise for her life.

(5) Genoa.

In spite of the promise of independence made to Genoa by Great Britain the city was given to Sardinia.

(6) General.

Murat's attempt to unite Italy had failed; the country was divided into separate states; the acquisition of Lombardy and Venetia and the establishment of Hapsburgs in the leading duchies greatly increased the influence of Austria. But the cession of Genoa to Sardinia strengthened the power that was later to drive the Austrians out and unite Italy into one kingdom.

3. France.

France retained Alsace and Lorraine and her territory remained united and compact. She received from Portugal French Guiana; from Sweden, Guadeloupe¹; from Great Britain, Martinique and the Isle of Bourbon. France, largely owing to Talleyrand, was still one of the Great Powers.

3. Great Britain.

Great Britain received Malta, Heligoland and the protectorate of the Ionian Isles, and thus her command of

¹ Which Great Britain had given to Sweden in 1808.

the Mediterranean, the mouth of the Elbe and the Adriatic was ensured. Her colonial empire was extended by the acquisition of Mauritius, Tobago and Santa Lucia from France, Ceylon and the Cape of Good Hope from Holland, Trinidad from Spain.

The position of Great Britain, which exercised great influence owing to the subsidies she paid to the Allies, was strengthened by the failure of the Congress to deal with the question of maritime supremacy. But her authority was weakened when the Powers of Europe no longer found themselves dependent on her subsidies.

H. The Netherlands.

The union of Belgium and Holland under the King of Holland and the grant of Luxembourg to the House of Orange continued the traditional policy of Great Britain by establishing a barrier kingdom to the north of France and made the King of the Netherlands, as Grand Duke of Luxembourg, a member of the German Confederation. The sovereignty of the Netherlands was given to the House of Orange.

I. Switzerland.

Switzerland became a confederation of twenty-two independent cantons, and its neutrality was guaranteed by the Great Powers.

J. Sweden and Denmark.

Sweden, received Norway and Denmark Luxembourg, but their recent acquisitions of Poland and Swedish Pomerania gave Russia, and Prussia the dominant influence in the Baltic.

K. Spain and Portugal.

Spain lost Trinidad, but refused to restore Olivença, which Portugal had ceded in 1811.¹ Great Britain acted most ungratefully in failing to secure the restoration of this territory to her faithful ally, which was compelled to give up French Guinea to France.

¹ Page 428, D.

L. The Slave Trade.

To the British people the abolition of the slave trade was the most interesting question the Congress had to consider. The efforts of Wilberforce had secured the abolition of the slave trade in British dominions on March 23d, 1807. Similar action had been taken by Denmark in 1804, the Northern States of America in 1808, Sweden in 1813, Holland in 1814. But Spain and Portugal, which had taken advantage of the British slave trade to develop their own, refused to agree to the immediate abolition which Castlereagh urged the Congress to decree; they asserted that Great Britain had waited until her own colonies were fully supplied with slaves before moving in the matter.

February, 1815. The Congress condemned the slave trade as inconsistent with civilization and human rights.

M. Navigation of rivers.

A code was drawn up which defined the conditions of navigation of rivers bounding or intersecting two or more states.

IV. The Holy Alliance, September, 1815.

A. Terms.

September 26th, 1815. Alexander I persuaded the Emperor Francis I and Frederick William III to sign the Holy Alliance, which declared that Christianity was the basis of good government and bound the three sovereigns to act with Christian brotherhood towards each other. It was later signed by the Kings of Prussia, Spain, Naples and Sardinia and received the approval of the Prince Regent of Great Britain.

- B. This "diplomatic apostrophe" was regarded in England as a reactionary attempt to strengthen the power of the monarch over his people. It had no practical effect, caused much ridicule and led Castlereagh to doubt if Alexander was quite sane.

V. *General Criticism of the Congress.*

The object of the Congress.

Peace had been made in Europe since the Congress met. The object of the Congress was "to elaborate out of the conditions laid down by the First Peace of Paris a political system which should ensure to Europe an endurance of peaceful conditions among her States¹"; and this object involved the redistribution of the territory France had recently conquered. The assumption of the Congress was limited: it had no power of enforcing its decisions, and Spain, in spite of the Congress, retained Olivença simply because none of the Great Powers were prepared to go to war to maintain the authority of the Congress.

B. *Integration of the system of Great Powers.*

The Congress gave the control of Europe to the Great Powers, and the Congresses they held in the nineteenth century had great influence on European history. Russia had strengthened her position and secured great influence in the Baltic. Prussia profited greatly by the labours of the Congress, became the leading German state and also secured a strong position on the Baltic. Austria had increased her territories, but became less German and tended to rely upon her non-German subjects in Bohemia, Italy and Dalmatia. Great Britain remained mistress of the seas: she increased her colonial empire, but hardly gained from the Congress the advantages she might have expected owing to her efforts against Napoleon and the large subsidies, amounting to £60,000,000, she had paid to the Allies. France, though recently humbled, had reasserted her position as a Great Power.

Other states suffered owing to the predominance of the Great Powers. Italy and Germany were broken up,

¹ Cambridge Modern History.

Sweden and Denmark became third-rate states, Saxony was weakened. But Holland and some of the smaller German states improved their position.

Plan of guiding principles.

The members of the Congress were not philosophers acting on well-considered general principles, but practical statesmen anxious to secure as much as possible for their own states. The attitude of the Congress was business-like and practical rather than philosophic.

(1) Nationality.

The principle of nationality was disregarded. Poland was not united, Belgium was joined to Holland and Norway to Sweden.

Thus the Congress of Vienna marks a reaction from the principle of conscious nationality which resulted from the French Revolution. But the principle proved too strong to be disregarded, and the action of the Congress in disregarding it met with only temporary success, for during the nineteenth century Belgium broke away from Holland, the German Confederation fostered a closer bond in nationality, Italy became a united kingdom and national feeling was maintained in Poland.

(2) Historic tradition.

In defiance of historical tradition Genoa was handed over to Sardinia, her old foe; Sicily was reunited to Naples, in spite of her reluctance; Venetia was given to Austria.

(3) Religion.

Catholic Belgium was added to Protestant Holland; the Catholics of the Rhine were brought under the sway of Prussia, and those of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw became the subjects of Russia, the champion of the Greek Church.

(4) Legitimacy.

Legitimacy was not generally adopted as a principle of political action, although Talleyrand asserted it in the case of Saxony, and Ferdinand of Naples was restored to his kingdom, although the Congress might have recognised Murat, but *not* his dynasty.

(5) Opposition to France.

But the Congress was united in its determination to prevent further aggression by France and the reduction of her territory, the establishment of the power of Prussia on the Rhine, of the German and Swiss Confederations and the formation of the Netherlands as a barrier state were the results of definite policy.

D. The results of the Congress.

The Congress did ~~not settle the question of maritime rights~~, or deal with the Eastern Question or discuss the future of Spanish America.

But it led to a better understanding between the Great Powers and thus tended to maintain peace in Europe; it promoted civilisation by its decree against the Slave Trade; it gave a better prospect of constitutional development to the people of Europe. "The results achieved by the Congress may be fairly described as a settlement which, though open to many criticisms, and in many respects inadequate, on the whole fairly met both the expectations it had received and the demands that could reasonably be made on its efforts."¹

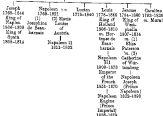
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Cambridge Modern History, Vol. IX, page 671.

NAPOLEON

CHARLES BONAPARTE m. LETIZIA RAMOLINO



I. Life.

August 15th, 1769. Born at Ajaccio.

December 19th, 1793. His skilled direction of French artillery led to the capture of Toulon. Made Brigadier-General for this.

October 24th, 1795. Put down the insurrection of Vendémiaire. Given command of the Army of the Interior.

A. Italian Campaign, 1796-1797.¹

1796. Won the battles of Lodi (May), Castiglione (August), Arcola (November).

1797. Won the battle of Rivoli (January). Peace of Campo Formio (October).

¹ Page 480.

B. Egyptian Campaign, May, 1798-August, 1799.¹

1798. Defeated the Mamelukes, captured Cairo. Nelson won the Battle of the Nile.

1799. Failed to take Acre (March-May). Routed the Turks at Aboukir.

C. Opposed the Second Coalition, 1800-1802.²

1799. Overthrew the Directory by the coup d'état of Brumaire (November).

1800. Won the battle of Marengo (June).

1801. Peace of Lunéville (February).

1802. Peace of Amiens (March).

D. The War of the Third Coalition, 1804-1807.

1804. Received the title of Emperor (May). Formed a camp at Boulogne for the invasion of England.

1805. Nelson's victory at Trafalgar (October). Routed the Austrians at Ulm (October), and the Russians and Austrians at Austerlitz (December). Treaties of Schönbrunn and Pressburg (December).

1806. Made Joseph King of Naples and Louis King of Holland. Routed the Prussians at Jena and Auerstedt (October). Issued the Berlin Decree (November)—the beginning of the Continental System.

1807. Drove the battle of Eylau (February), routed the Russians at Friedland (June). Peace of Tilsit (July).

E. The Peninsular and other wars, 1808-1814.

1808. Made Joseph King of Spain (June). Convention of Bayona (October). Led an army against Moore (December).

1809. Defeated the Austrians at Aspern and Eckmühl (April), checked at Aspern (May), won the battle of Wagram (July). The Peace of Schönbrunn (October).

[1809. December 18th. Divorced from Joséphine.]

[1810. April 3rd. Married Marie Louise.]

¹ Page 406.

² Page 409.

1809. Annexed Holland (July), the Papal States, the North-West Coast of Germany (December).

(1801. March 20th. Birth of the King of Rome.)

1802. Invaded Russia, won the battle of Borodino (September), occupied Moscow (September-October), crossed the Berezina (November).

1812. Made the Concordat of Fontainebleau with Pius VII (January), won the battles of Lützen and Bautzen (May) and the battle of Dreyden (August), defeated at Leipzig (October).

1814. Fought several battles against Blücher and Schwarzenberg (February), abdicated April 6th.

F. The Hundred Days.

1815. Landed in France (March), defeated Blücher at Ligny the same day that Ney was defeated at Quatre Bras (June 16th), routed by Wellington at Waterloo (June 18th), surrendered to the British (July 18th), sent to St. Helena (August 8th).

1821. May 5th. Napoleon died at St. Helena.

II. Napoleon and the French Revolution.

A. The Child of the Revolution.

Napoleon asserted that he was the Child of the Revolution. The Revolution, by abolishing the old political system and paving the way for military despotism gave him the opportunity of establishing his power; his election as Emperor was ratified on November 6th, 1804, by a plebiscite of the people; in the Code Napoleon he embodied the best of the Revolutionary laws; he chose his servants and generals on their merits and without reference to caste. He gave both personality and breadth to the influence of the French Revolution.

B. But in important points he was opposed to the ideas of the Revolution.

(1) The Revolution had accepted the principle of nationality, but Napoleon in his desire to extend his dominions, showed himself strongly anti-national, especially in Prussia and Spain.

- (3) The excesses of the Paris mob during the Reign of Terror horrified Napoleon. He thoroughly distrusted "the people," whom the Revolution had mainly created. To him the Paris mob were amenable to be repressed by force. He recognized the levity and feebleness of character which resulted from the rapid changes of the Revolution, and his colonial policy and the pretzel of the gaiety of Paris under his rule were partly due to the design to divert the attention of the populace from the problems of government, with which he thought them unfit to cope.
- (4) The Revolution was mainly destructive, and failed to establish a strong efficient government in place of the old regime it had swept away. Napoleon, who realized the need of stable and orderly government, was a great constructive statesman.
- (5) The Revolution tended to decentralization, and thereby imperilled the unity of France. Napoleon established an organized despotism with its centre at Paris.
- (6) The absolute government which Napoleon established was the negation of the idea of the "sovereign people." "He was the last and greatest of the autocratic legislators who worked in an antique age."¹

III. Napoleon and France.

A. Napoleon rendered great service to France.

- (1) His victories saved her from foreign foes.
- (2) By putting down the insurrection of Vendémiaire in 1795, overthrowing the Directory in 1799 and establishing a strong efficient central government he saved her from anarchy. "His life and his life alone stood between France and civil war."²
- (3) His internal policy gave France a sound system of laws; he promoted education; he took active measures to improve trade and industry.

¹ Fyfe.

² Faine.

- (3) In his earlier years he relieved the distress of France by the alien subsidies he poured into the Treasury ; he compelled other nations to support French armies. He issued as paper money, he imposed no income-tax.

B. But Napoleon did much harm to France.

- (1) At the beginning of his career his foreign policy was national and on the whole promoted the best interests of France. But later, possibly after the Treaty of Tilsit, his foreign policy did not prove advantageous to France. His determination to humble Britain, combined with his desire for the mastery of Europe, led him into vast schemes of conquest which drained the resources of France and gravely injured her commerce without conferring corresponding benefits. After Waterloo none of his wars had the approval of France.

- (2) Under him the government of France became a mere despotism ; private interests, civil and political rights were subordinated to the interests of the Emperor.

IV. Napoleon and Europe.

- (A) Napoleon the tyrant of Europe.

Unlike Richelieu and Louis XIV, Napoleon was not content with the natural frontiers of France. He wished by successful war to extend the authority of France over other countries, and he ruled tyrannically over the countries he conquered. " War and despotism were inseparable and ingrained parts of his nature."¹

He realised that the naval power and commerce of Great Britain were the great obstacles to his schemes. " Our Government," he wrote in November, 1797, " must destroy the English monarchy, or it must expect itself to be destroyed by these active islanders." The Continental System was an attempt to unite

¹ Fisher.

Europe against Great Britain. "He wished to subdue Europe by France and [Britain] by means of Europe."¹

His aims grew with his success, sometimes "transgressed the limits of practical statesmanship and shamed ambition and tyranny."² Having served France, he wished to make her the centre of a great Empire and regarded himself as a modern Charlemagne. But his ambition was not limited to Europe and the East attracted him strongly. While preparing for the Russian campaign he said, "We are going to make an end of Europe, and then to throw ourselves on other robbers less daring than ourselves and become masters of India." He desired to emulate Alexander the Great as well as Charlemagne.

(B) Causes of his failure.

He did not appreciate the strength of national feeling. The example of the successful national resistance which Spain offered to his aggression inspired Russia and Prussia to similar efforts.

The Continental System, by which he hoped to ruin the commerce of Great Britain, proved a failure. He failed to appreciate the financial resources of Great Britain and the dependence of Europe on British commerce.

He lost more than 800,000 men in the Russian campaign, "a supreme example of military tyranny,"³ which gravely impaired his prestige.

Many Roman Catholics strongly resented his treatment of Pius VII.

France had become weary of war, and in 1815 Napoleon was unable to raise the forces necessary to fight Europe, which his tyranny had united against him.

(C) Service rendered to Europe.

Although he shamed himself the enemy of liberty at home and abroad, by introducing the more advanced

¹ *Mignet*.

² *Fyfe*.

³ *Fisher*.

civilisation of France, Napoleon gave a great impulse to other countries; "by agitating nations Napoleon contributed to their civilisation." "He broke down the barriers everywhere of custom and prejudice; and revolutionised the spirit of the Continent."¹

V. Napoleon as a General.

A. He believed firmly in what he called "the divine side of war," i.e. in the use of intellect as distinct from mere material force. He possessed to a remarkable degree "the gift of strategic imagination," and never lost sight of the broad perspective of a campaign. His inspiring leadership was for him the devotion of his soldiers. His campaign before Jena was a masterpiece of strategy; he displayed the highest military skill in his manoeuvres against Blücher and Schwarzenberg in 1806.

B. His plans were bold, but not, in his earlier period, impossible for a man of his practical ability, e.g. the campaign of Moscow, 1809.

C. He could easily see the weak spot in the enemy's line. His power of striking hard and swiftly at the decisive point was of great value in view of the lack of cohesion among the forces of the Coalition. He followed up his victories with great vigour.

a. 1805. The capitulation of Mack at Ulm caused the failure of simultaneous expeditions in Holland and Italy.

b. 1805. The victory at Austerlitz was due to Napoleon's vigorous and well-timed attack on the centre of the Austrian army, which had been weakened by the withdrawal of a large force which was attempting to turn Napoleon's right flank.

- c. 1812. His decision to attack Wellington and Blücher instead of awaiting the general advance of the Allies was correct; his rapid advance gained him a distinct advantage; he wisely aimed at the point where the two armies joined. His failure was due largely to lack of effective co-operation on the part of his generals.
- D. He generally made a skilful use of advantages of position, especially—
 - a. Of the line of the Adige in 1797, but
 - b. His choice of the line of the Elbe in 1803 was bad, because it was easy for the Allies with their superior numbers to turn this position.
- E. His policy of making his army "live on the country" enabled him to reduce the amount of his baggage and facilitated rapid movement. But it failed in poor countries, such as Spain and Russia.
- F. His exceptional physical strength enabled him easily to endure fatigue. In 1803 he rode from Valladolid to Paris in six days; he marched ninety miles in three days after the Dresden campaign in 1814; in the few days of the Waterloo campaign he was on horseback for thirty-seven hours and had only twenty hours' sleep.

VI. An Excellent Business Man.

Napoleon was a most efficient administrator and organizer. He showed great ability in adapting to present needs the most practical ideas of former generations. His personal intervention secured accuracy and economy in the management of finance. The equipment of the Army of England in 1804 showed his wonderful grasp of detail.

He made merit the only ground for promotion and, on the whole, was very successful in his choice of servants. He could, if necessary, work sixteen hours a day and demanded a maximum of effort from others.

VII. Personal.

A. An orator and a writer.

Napoleon was a great orator and was most successful in appealing to the masses. Some regard him as a great writer. Mr. Fiske says "he was the prince of journalists, the father of war correspondents." He had "an eye for theatrical effect and an incomparable talent for self-advertisement."

B. Selfish.

His own interests were his first object. In pursuing them he showed no regard for the rights of others and no compensation for the suffering he inflicted. He said that Elendino, where the daughter had been appealing, was "the finest battlefield I have ever seen."

He gave generous payments for efficient service; at times he showed himself affable and kindly. But he had little capacity for friendship, and in the hour of his need was deserted by all (including his wife), except the few devoted adherents who accompanied him to St. Helena.

C. His influence on others.

His personality was overwhelming, and he exercised a remarkable fascination over those he met, e.g. over his soldiers, in spite of the callousness with which he squandered their lives, over Alexander I, especially at Tilsit, 1807, and over the crew of the *Bellerophon*.

D. Religion and morality.

He said, "I am not a man like other men," and thought that religious and moral restrictions did not bind him. Although in his will he professed adherence to the Apostolic Roman Church, he was probably a materialist without belief in Christ. He said, "I was a Mahomedan in Egypt, I shall be a Catholic [in France]." His private life was shamelessly immoral.

B. But he was a man of outstanding genius and many-sided ability. "He carried human faculty to the farthest point of which we have accurate knowledge."¹ Mignet says that he was "the most gigantic being of modern times."

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